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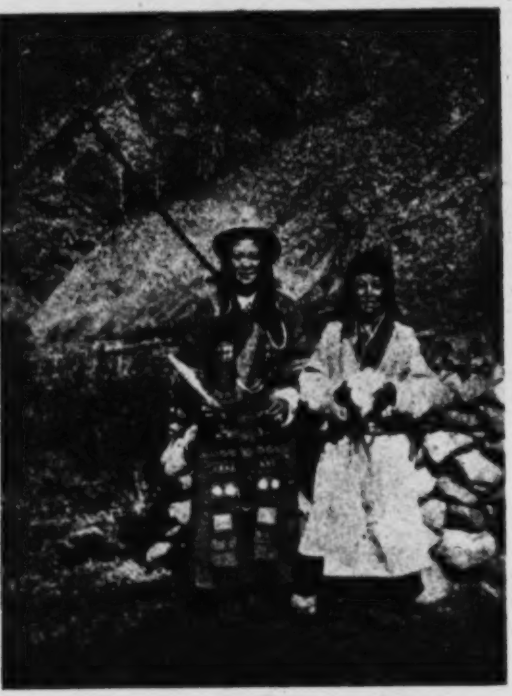

FIG. 8. Spinning handicraft. Two girls of Monguor origin, whose parents had attached themselves to a group of Tibetans enrolled as subjects of the Ch'i T'u-ssu. They wear the Tibetan clothes typical of the Huari region north of Hsining. The elder girl is spinning thread, which passes over a hook at the end of the stick thrust into her collar at the back of the neck. She keeps a bundle of wool in the bosom of her gown and from it twists the yarn which is rolled on to the spindle which she holds in her left hand. The thread then passes over the hook of the stick, to stretch and straighten it. The younger sister is fluffing a bundle of wool to prepare it for her elder sister.

467 Monguor artisans engaged in such work must perforce
651 join the Chinese guilds when they are summoned to work on official buildings.

The shamans are also affected by the need for asso-
756 ciation with a guild. Whenever there is an eclipse of
177 the sun or moon the shamans are likely to be summoned to the nearest Chinese town to help, by their incantations,
467 with the "liberation" of the sun or moon. In this they are associated with the Chinese Taoist priests. I knew of one case in which there was a quarrel between the shamans of two Monguor villages. They brought their disagreement before the chief of the religious corporation, a Taoist priest, who settled the matter.

462 The question of the origin of specialized artisan crafts is an interesting problem. In the case of the Monguors, most work is done in the household and there is little need for specialized skills. When there is such a need, moreover, most people cannot afford to hire a skilled craftsman to come from a Chinese town. These con-

3: Schröder AE9 Monguor AE9

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756, 791, 792

/Information on religious specialists has been filed as follows:

756 - drum-shaman or bo (fa-shih)

756 - gurtum or warrior-shaman

791 - spirit-spear sooth-sayer

791 - bon priest

792 - lamas

[18 cont.]

Details

791 787 The soothsayer: The soothsayer is called "the one who seizes the consecrated." He has a close relationship with the spirit, but is not possessed by it. He, however, is not master over his movements, but the spirit is. [19] The latter shakes the spear and the soothsayer's arms. The soothsayer does not [756] go into ecstasy like other shamans, among whom the entire body quivers.

Not everyone is capable of being moved by the spirit and of learning its meaning. Only by experimentation does one discover this characteristic; this usually happens when one is alone in a lonely place. When there is no soothsayer in a locality, the people request one person or another whom they regard as suitable to try it, especially when it is urgently necessary, for instance, in case of an approaching thunderstorm or sudden sickness. There are no special schools or teachers. Spear-soothsaying is not passed down in the family.

791 756 The spear-soothsayers constitute a special type that is different from other soothsayers and shamans. Each one practices his profession for himself. They have no relations of any kind among themselves and have no special social position or rights. [Fig. 1 appears here.] Also, they have no special doctrines or secrets, as do certain shamans, for instance. They are ordinary farmers with wife and child.

It is true that lamas, Bon priests, and other shamans can prophesy with the spear, but not all of them, and it has nothing to do with their status. For that reason they do not wear their own official costume for it, unless they happen to be wearing it already.

The spear-soothsayer is not tied to one specific spirit, as is the sword-shaman, for instance, who can only call down his tutelary spirit. A spear-soothsayer can prophesy with all spears and all spirits at any time of the day or night and at any place, even if he should wander a thousand miles away.

791 Hence the spear-soothsayer is the one most frequently used by the Tujen. There is one in almost every village, and he is easy to find because no special moral and social

[23 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 24 cont.] spear must always be consecrated to the same deity as the old one.

Spear shaft: sdzida gändzē (Chin.) = spear shaft.
Spear foot: sdzida xugdē = spear end.
Two-edged tip: nieṅgän tolġue = flat tip.
Three-edged tip: ġuran bulõṅdē tolġue = three edges tip.
Four-edged tip: dieran bulōṅdē tolġue = four edges tip.
Trident tip: ġuran salā tolġue = three prongs tip.
The spear is shaking: šdien (purġan, šdiendõṅ) bōdzia (9).

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9. [Foreign text pp. 25-26.] The Tujen never say šdiendzēn bōdzia, that is, the soothsayer is shaking. They do say sgurdien bōdzia, that is, the shaman is shaking. In the case of shamans they will never say purġan bōdzia, that is, the spirit is shaking. These distinctions are to be noted; bō- is reserved for that which is in motion, that is, the spear and the shaman, in other words šdien (= šdiendõṅ or purġān) and sgurdien. bō- actually means (come down, descend, begin, start work," and refers to the medium of the spirit, not to the spirit itself, for the latter's descent is designated by kur- (kuru-), that is, "to arrive." This differentiates the peculiarity of the trance from the activity of the soothsayer. The Chinese, too, express a clear differentiation here. For the trance they say fashen-tzu, that is, to bring the body to a state of excitement; for the calling of the spirit for soothsaying, they say ch'ing fo-yeh, that is, to invite the Buddha(father).

Indeed, the way the soothsayers work is easy to differentiate from that of the shaman. I was able to observe both

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[Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.] repeatedly. There are two kinds of communication with the spirit. In the case of spear-soothsaying the center of movement lies in the spear and stays there. The spear shakes and draws only the soothsayer's arms and a little of the upper part of his body into the movement. The body is still; there is only an autonomous movement of the spear. At the same time the soothsayer is wholly aware of his surroundings; he observes everything that goes on about him and hears everything, even when he bends down to the spear and seems to speak with the spirit in it. When he speaks in the name of the spirit, he does so in a light, normal voice. When he is done, he sets the spear aside the way a craftsman lays down his tool. There is no excitement in the whole affair. -- It is different in the case of the shaman trance. The shaman, too, has weapons, for instance, sword and spear. I was able to observe in the clouds of incense how first the spear tip began to tremble, then the shaft. From the shaft the shaking went over to the arm, then on the chest to the next arm, and finally to the head and the entire body. The center of movement then lies in the shaman himself. He becomes pale or quite red. The heavy, much-too-large helmet is placed on his head, but because of his swelling head it nonetheless sits firmly. He foams at the mouth and speaks disjointed words in various languages. He is entirely inwardly directed and takes no notice of his

[23 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 25 cont.] surroundings. To him everything is in a state of excitement and trembling. After the trance he is exhausted and has to rest for several hours.

For the conclusion of the spear-soothsaying there is the expression ś̌dien (šdiendõń) džuoladzia, that is, the spear is ready. For the cessation in the case of the [26] shaman one says sgurdien dõṅladzia, that is, the shaman is finished. The actual meaning of dz̀uo- and dõṅ- has never been clear to me.

000 [Pages 23-26 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[27]

2. The Gurtum (Sword-shaman)*

* See "Notes," pp. 31-33 [of the original text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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*[778]

The sword-shaman has as his most important weapon the sword, with which he fights against the demons. He always performs his ceremonies in a trance condition. Then his tutelary deity descends upon him and endows him with great powers.

[792]

Whether one becomes a shaman depends upon his ability to go into a trance. Some inherit it in the family. Many of them experiment in a lonely spot. As soon as one has learned how to do it, he goes to a lamić monastery. There he is tested to see if he is genuine. If he is genuine, he receives instruction and an amulet. Every year, however, he must return once to his teacher in order to train himself further.

[27 cont.]

756 The sword-shamans heal the sick, drive away demons, and
[789] practice soothsaying. In so doing, they wound themselves and
the sick with the sword and burn themselves with fire, but if
[787] they are true shamans, this does not harm them.

Details

756 Dress: The shamans wear an ordinary long garment. Some-
292 times they also put on a robe similar to that of the Chinese
bonze, except that it is red. They girdle themselves with a
293 red belt. On the chest they wear an amulet with a god's figure
*778 or a little bag with the hada [scarf-like ceremonial cloth] that
[171] the lama has given them at the consecration. It is their
tutelary spirit. They throw the wide shoulder-collar over it,
which falls with the points over the chest, back, and shoulders.
It is of various colors and often beautifully cut. They hang the
breast-mirror on a red string over the shoulder collar. Formerly
[325] this was made of gold; now it is made of copper. The shaman
rubs it to a shine with incense ashes. The mirror is round and
has a diameter of 15 to 20 centimeters. In the middle it has
a round protuberance, on which the tutelary deity's name is
sometimes inscribed in Tibetan signs. Several colorful hada-cloths are suspended from the two eyelets of the mirror. --
756 On their heads the shamans wear a red headcloth. It is about
50 to 80 centimeters square. One tip is cut off to a breadth
292 of about 20 centimeters; at these cut ends there are two red
bands; the cloth looks like an irregular pentagon. They sew
five small copper horse-rattles on the cut edge. The cloth is
thrown over the head in such a fashion that the edge with the
little bells runs across the forehead and the other tips fall down
over the ears and shoulders. They fasten the cloth on the
back of the head with the bands. -- Over this headcloth they
then tie a five-part crown similar to that of the lamas (4).

*[778] 4. [Foreign text p. 32.] The headcloth is not always of this kind. There are also cloths that are larger and that have no bells. In this case the shaman ties on a

[27 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 32 cont.] special forehead-band with the little bells. -- The crown is not always necessary. The images found on the five prongs are supposed to be determined by the tutelary spirit. I have also seen crowns that bear no images, but only Tibetan signs.

The crown bears five Buddha images or five death's-heads or other signs. -- The articles of clothing are procured by the shaman himself. There are also certain prescriptions as to how they are to be treated.

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[28] The equipment: The shaman must always have a sword. It is the seat of his tutelary spirit. The sword is usually two-edged. It has no colored bands. The handle is made of wood. The same rules apply for the making of the sword as for the spirit-spear. The sword is wrapped together with the crown inside the red headcloth and is placed upright in the house on his household altar. He burns incense and kowtows in front of it (1).

1. [Foreign text pp. 31-32.] In this kind of shamanism the sword seems to be essential.

It was impossible to find out in what way the sword is the seat of the tutelary spirit. It may be that it is constantly the seat of the spirit, but perhaps it is so only temporarily. The question is the same as in the case of the spirit-spear. The fact that the bands, the mirror, and the bells are often lacking argues against a permanent seat. On the other hand, one also finds swords that are provided with these.. -- I once saw in a Chinese temple the sword of a deceased shaman, which

[28 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 31-32 cont.] was kept there for his successor. It was two-edged and on one side bore the Bear constellation engraved on it; on the other side was the name ... niang-niang, that is, ... mother. The name of that goddess has escaped me.

[32] The swords used by the shaman, however, are not always two-edged. The informant, it is true, claims that this is the case for the shamans of the Tujen; he commented that the Tujen formerly had had no two-edged swords, with the exception of their shamans. Among the same Chinese shamans, however, I also saw single-edged swords, which are called ma-tao, that is, horse-swords; they are easy to swing and formerly were used by horsemen.

[484] Even while traveling, the shaman treats his sword with care and reverence. He wraps it in the red head-cloth and carries it upright in his arm in front of his chest, almost the way one carries a small child. When he puts up at an inn, he places it in a clean spot and first pays it reverence. At night he puts it under his neck roll. I was able to observe this on various occasions en route.

Besides the sword, which he must always use, the shaman has other objects that he can use, depending upon the kind of demons or ceremonies, for example: the hemp whip, which [532] usually has a carved handle with a snake's head or death's-head; the demon fetters, likewise made of hemp with iron

[28 cont.]

756 rings at the end; the spirit-spear; the winnowing tray and the
*778 sieve (2).--He must make this equipment himself in accordance
with certain rules. He keeps it at home on the altar of his tutelary deity with the sword and the god's image.

756 The trance: The trance usually takes place in the house
787 in front of the altar. The shaman rinses out his mouth, washes
his hands and face, presents an incense offering in the yard or
[783] before the altar, kowtows before the sword, and puts on his
[782] garb (3). The incense fire is maintained in the yard by other
men who also blow the conch (5).

[576] Now a long, low table is placed in front of the altar,
and the shaman sits on it in the Buddha position with his legs

2. [Foreign text p. 32.] In the case of one other temple shaman I also saw the bow and arrow as equipment. Incidentally,
[411] the shaman carries all the customary weapons. -- The spirit-sling is twisted out of hemp, wrapped in red cloth, and is about one meter long. The iron rings on it have a symbolic significance that I have forgotten. The Chinese, so far as I can recall, call the sling k'un-hsien-sheng, that is, spirit-binding string. In the accompanying photograph the shaman holds the sling with the ring in his left thumb.

3. [Foreign text p. 32.] He always puts on his costume with prayer.

5. [Foreign text p. 32.] Some claim that the shaman has to wash himself once more before the trance.

[28 cont.]

● 756 crossed under him, his face turned toward the door, and his
787 back to the altar. He has placed his sword across his knees.
He holds a burning stick of incense upright in his hands in front
[576] of his chest, so that the smoke rises into his face. Then he speaks the prayer of invitation to his tutelary spirit. Meanwhile men make smoke around him with incense. Gradually his hands begin to tremble; the movement passes to the arms, chest, and head. Finally his entire body is trembling and shaking, but especially the head with a violence that makes the bells rattle. At this point the stick of incense is taken out of his hand and he is given his sword (6). The spirit has now
[789] descended upon him. He begins to prophesy and to exorcise the demons.

The shaman may also choose another place for the trance, for instance, the temple, the house chapel, a mountain top,
* [778] an obo [a mound of stones dedicated to the mountain spirit], the yard. He never undertakes the trance on the kang in a side room. If there is a god's image with a soul on the household altar, he always sits down facing this image; in the case of the obo he must turn toward the obo. -- In front of the obo or on the mountain top he need not sit on a table, but can kneel on the bare ground. If he undertakes the trance in the yard of a compound, he goes to the side opposite the main house so that he has the round manger with the mani-tree before him and faces the main house. There he kneels upright on a white felt mat. The other ceremonies are the same.

The compound in which he undertakes the trance must first be swept clean; all the rooms are fumigated with incense. The [29] table or the mat on which he kneels must also be
[609] fumigated. -- There is no taboo for strangers, however; all may witness the ceremony. Women, however, may not enter
[562] the room in which the trance takes place.

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6. [Foreign text p. 32.] The little stick is placed in the incense bowl.

[29 cont.]

● 756 Soothsaying: In the common form of soothsaying, the
petitioner kowtows to the shaman in the trance and presents
787 his request. He may also let an experienced man do the asking.
The soothsayer then holds his breast-shield flat on his left hand,
takes barley kernels from a little plate with the tip of the sword,
and scatters them on the shield. From the pattern of the kernels
he now gives his answer. Often he also moves in a violent trance
and mumbles all kinds of disjointed words which a practiced man
quickly writes down on paper and which afterwards are interpreted.
In the trance, the soothsayer may speak any language, Tibetan,
Chinese, Tujen, Mongolic, even if he has not learned it.

This soothsaying also precedes all the other ceremonies that he performs during the trance, such as exorcising demons, healing the sick, etc.

Calling: The shamans are always men. When someone
[562] thinks that he has the ability to go into a trance, he goes to a
quiet, remote spot and experiments with a staff, a sword, etc.
In time he becomes proficient. He also becomes aware of
which spirit takes possession of him. Frequently the people in
[792] the village propose to a young man that he should try it once.
* [778] If he then succeeds, they suggest that he have himself conse-
crated in the lamic monastery. -- Most shamans take up this
756 calling of their own accord. Those who receive the art from
their fathers are not common. The shamans are always healthy,
[158] normal men; they are only more easily excitable (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 32.] They do not form an organization of their own. True, I have been repeatedly told that in the sixth month on the first (?) or fifteenth day the shamans of the Hsi-ch'uan gather in a village near Tuopa (west of Hei-tsuei-p'u) and organize a kind of trance competition for an entire day. This custom, however, is supposedly recent.

[29 cont.]

● 756 787 792 *778 Consecration: Once the young man has tested himself and feels secure, he takes 12 loaves of steamed bread, three loaves of baked bread, money, and a hada, and goes to the monastery. There he hands the gifts to a schooled lama with special praying power and requests the consecration.

First a test takes place. With the usual ceremonies, the shaman must put himself in a trance. He must indicate given objects; thorns are scattered on the floor and he is challenged to sit on them; whips are lashed in his direction, and in every possible way attempts are made to intimidate him. If he is a genuine shaman in a genuine trance, he is not afraid and is not injured. If his state is not genuine, he becomes frightened, backs away, or comes out of the trance.

At this point the presiding lama takes a hada (13), slings it around the shaman's neck, and asks which tutelary spirit revealed itself to him. The shaman then pronounces the name, kneels, and receives from the lama the instructions concerning his duties as shaman. Among these are the taboo and purification prescriptions, for example: he may not officiate when he is in mourning or when his wife is in confinement; also during this time he may not worship his tutelary spirit; after sexual intercourse and after enjoyment of tobacco and a considerable amount of liquor, he is unclean (11), and he must purify himself [783]

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[192] 13. [Foreign text p. 33.] Hada, Tib. k'a btags, is a scarf-like ceremonial cloth.

[273] 11. [Foreign text p. 33.] Actually, liquor is not prohibited for the shamans. Here a Buddhistic prescription seems to be in effect, but in a weakened form, for a moderate consumption of liquor does not make the shaman unclean, only drunkenness does, although in the eyes of the Tujen this by no means represents anything morally objectionable.

[29 cont.]

•756 before the [30] individual acts by inflicting wounds with the
787 sword, piercing his chest, licking red-hot iron, etc. Along with
792 this instruction, which is contained in certain Tibetan books,
the lama says the prayer of consecration over him.

*778 Then the shaman rises and washes his hands, face, and
[783] head with the water from the lama's holy can. He must likewise first rinse out his mouth. Then barley is thrown over him and he is fumigated with incense. The lama takes the hada that he had slung around his neck, makes a knot in it, folds it together, sticks it in a little rectangular red or yellow bag, and hangs this around the shaman; it is the amulet of his tutelary spirit and is called "protective fort" (8). In place of this hada,

8. [Foreign text p. 32.] It is unclear whether this hada is the seat of the tutelary spirit. In any case it is to be regarded as a protective amulet.

or together with this hada, the shaman may also wear on his chest a large case containing the figure of his tutelary spirit (9).

9. [Foreign text pp. 32-33.] The consecration ceremony might lead one to believe that the shaman is only capable of performing his office by means of it. In itself it has nothing to do with shamanizing. It is merely an official confirmation of one's capabili-
[184] ties, and also the people desire it. There are also shamans, however, who have not been consecrated in the monastery, especially among the people mixed with Chinese.

The consecration appears to admit the shamans to the position of lay monks, for among the monks there are also those who act as shamans and have certain prescriptions. Thus on the route from Hei-tsuei-tzu

[30 cont.]

•756 [Note on foreign text pp. 32-33 cont.]
787 to Shang-wu-chwang there is a village
792 with a small lamasery [33] from which
*778 the shamans of Kumbum come, who
appear especially on New Year's. As a missionary tells me, in the village there in quite recent times a young man was doing exercises almost daily, going into a trance on the river bank, fighting with a sword, shooting arrows, etc.

In any case all the lamaseries attach great importance to having a shaman who, possessed by the tutelary spirit dPekar, prophesies on New Year's. I observed these shamans in Kuo-mang-szu and Kumbum. In the Tujen lamasery, where a living shaman-monk was not to be found, I saw on New Year's a life-sized figure set up in full shaman regalia. At the sooth-
[791] saying on the fifteenth day, however, the spear-soothsayer acted in his stead in the temple yard, where the dances take place, before the hutukhtu, the assembled monks, and all the people. In Kuo-mang-
[562] szu I even saw a woman appear in the temple as a shaman, but she did not represent the usual type of sgurdien.

The lama does not put the shaman costume on his protégé. Usually he comes to the monastery without any costume and does not see to it until later. Frequently his own village helps to provide it. He makes the two-edged sword himself or has it made by the smith.

756 The tutelary spirit: The tutelary spirit always reveals
776 itself to the shaman; a lama cannot designate a tutelary
spirit for anyone. The shaman often calls himself "spirit-
*[778] disciple" or "spirit-protégé." The spirit has its seat in the

[30 cont.]

●756 sword. Frequently the shaman hangs an image of his tutelary
*778 spirit over the household altar. He must burn incense in front
[776] of it every day, just as before his sword; at certain times he
sacrifices goats, sheep, or pigs to it.

[782] The amulet cases with the image of the tutelary spirit
[439] are bought by the shamans in the monasteries or in the monastery
markets. They are fairly expensive since they usually come
[792] from Peking, Shanghai, or Tibet.

756 Everything that the shaman does he does by virtue of his
tutelary spirit. As such the following come into consideration:
776 the dragon gods, the tiger god, the great mother, and in general the many lower spirits of the yellow religion that can take possession of a person. Heaven, however, can never become the tutelary spirit of the shaman.

756 Task of the shaman: The sword-shaman is supposed to
prophesy, heal the sick, conjure away storms, drive away demons.
463 He may not interfere in the activities of the lamas, Bon priests, or drum-shamans. For instance, he is not permitted to erect a mani-tree, but he may set up an ordinary mani-flag on the yard gate. Also, he may not undertake the ceremony of the pole-goat or hold sowing and harvest festivals; he does not officiate at funerals and weddings.

755 The ceremonies for healing the sick are quite manifold.
756 The following is the most common. First of all the shaman
[787] puts himself in a trance. Then a man brings him a large iron
spoon filled with water. The shaman tears a piece of cloth from his protective mirror, throws it into the water, scatters some barley grains over it, and holds the spoon over the open [31] fire until the water boils and the cloth is thoroughly steeped. Then he takes out the cloth and gives the broth to the sick person to drink.

756 In order to purify or to punish themselves or in order to
783 demonstrate their authenticity, they swallow fire, hold their hand in the flames, pierce themselves with the sword, slit their bodies open, lick red-hot iron, etc.

[31 cont.]

Word List

192
● 756 The sword-shaman: sgurdien; gurdien (Tib. Tujen) (10); ku-wai-tien (Chin.); fa-la-tzu (Chin.); fa-shen-tzu-ti (Chin.); nañsuo (Tib.); Yao-shen-tzu-ti (Chin.); shen-ti-tzu (Chin.) = spirit disciple.

10. [Foreign text p. 33.] The Tujen strictly differentiate the sgurdien from the bō, the Chinese fa-shih, drum-shaman. The Chinese also make this distinction. They call the gurtum ku-êrh-tien or ku-wai-tien, which is nothing other than a phonetic imitation of the word sgurdien, which in turn comes from the Tibetan sku-rten, "body container." The gurtum is regarded as the container, the carrier of his tutelary god. See the precise explanation of the name in Part Two, "The Shaman Character of the Gurtum."

[787] To go into a trance: sgurdien bōdzia = the shaman has come down, (that is, he has begun to shake); fa-shen-tzu (Chin.) = to excite the body; yao-shen-tzu (Chin.) = to shake the body.

[782] The prayer of invitation (before the trance): ġsolkā (Tib. loan-word); ch'ing-tsan (Chin.) = praise.

Consecration prayer of the lama over the shaman: guo šguē (Tib. and Tuj.).

[792] Great lama: ching-fa ta-ti lama (Chin.) = lama with great power for prayer and magic.

*[778] The table upon which the shaman goes into a trance: t'iao-chuo-tzu (Chin.) = long table.

[31 cont.]

192 ●756 *[778] The shaman's sword: aradzi = two-edged sword; wadăm (Tib.) (12); chien (Chin.).

12. [Foreign text p. 33.] wadam: Tibetan dpa-gdam = sword. -- sõṅkuor: Tibetan skyoṅ = protection, 'k'oŕ = little disks (Unkrig).

[776] The tutelary-spirit -- hada: šdien = the consecrated, as it is called before it is stuck in the bag; sõṅkuor (Tib. loanword) (12) [see note 12 above] = protective fort, as it is called when it is inside the bag; the amulet is also called this.

*[778] Chest-mirror: mälõṅ (Tib. loanword); hu-hsin ching (Chin.) = the mirror protecting the heart.

Headcloth: tolġue bãṅladzin = the head covering. pao-chin = packing cloth (Chin.).

Rattles: xõṅguor; ling-êrh (Chin.).

Plowshare: timur ndziesë; t'ieh-hua (Chin.).

Thorns: huang-ts'ê (Chin.).

[789] To banish devils: ilie sdzira; pudaġ sdzira = to banish filth.

Recompense for the shaman: hsiang-ch'ien = incense money.

[Pages 31-33 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[33] 791

3. The Bon Priest*

* See "Notes," pp. 34-35 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

There are two kinds of Bon priests: the nomads and the

[46 cont.]

000 [Pages 46-49 contain the notes given above as numbered
footnotes. Plates 1 and 2 appear between pp. 48 and 49.]

Caption for Plate 1.

115
[142] a: The informant Tuo Yifula from Tuo-chia near Chi-chia-ling
[291] in Huchu County. Tujen. Born March, 1883; died in the autun
[302] of 1949. Taken in the mission station at Kanchia-p'u, summer,
1948. (To accompany "Introduction.") b: Lama setting the
792 conch to his mouth for blowing. Taken May 11, 1949, in the
796 monastery Fu-hai-szu or Hsin-szu (Guămbasoma) in the vicinity
[534] of the Koko Nor. (To accompany the chapter: "The Incense
[292] Offering.") c: A Tulku with his cult-apparatus at prayer. In
front of him the text, in his left hand the mani-string. In the
[782] background assisting lamas. Taken in the monastery Fu-hai-
[778] szu, May, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Lama-
reception.") d: Gurtum from Hei-tsui-p'u in the Hsi-ch'uan.
● 752 Taken in his yard, autumn, 1948. We were not allowed to
enter through the yard gate, but had to climb in over the roof;
this is what the tutelary spirit demanded. In his right hand
* [778] the gurtum is holding the spirit-spear, in his left the catching
line and the spirit-sword with the handle down. He is not
[292] wearing the five-part crown. This simple kind of gurtum is
very widespread in Tsinghai. (To accompany the chapter:
"The Gurtum.")

782 [822 cont.]

241 [Note on foreign text p. 823 cont.]
114 detail, he gave the answer: "That
was too much for one afternoon."
Moreover, he had described the festival
as it had taken place in his little village.
It had always been celebrated very simply
[178] there; now he had let the festival
die out completely for his village, and
they would go to the neighboring village
of Chichialing, where it is much longer
and larger.

Here, too, nothing is presented in
detail about the individual parts, as in
the other chapters, because the material
is too extensive and forms a subject in
itself, which is to be dealt with in connection
[756] with shamanism. It should be
stated in advance here, however, that
they are probably not Tujen shamans, but
Chinese shamans, who are found scattered
over wide areas of western China.

Report

241 The sowing festival and the festival of the harvest thanksgiving
782 are completely identical. Only in the autumn people
have more flour and meat to celebrate the festival. Both festivals
last several days. A definite number of days is not prescribed.
[756] At the festival one differentiates between the offering
[535] and the dances of the shamans. The offering is undertaken by
[443] the seed-master or the village elder. The dances last for an
entire day; usually a market is also connected with them.

241 The shamans erect a pole in the temple yard, pray
782 several days, send out sicknesses on the first evening, and from
756 a distance kill children or cause them to become unconscious.
754 In the evening of the final day, before they take down the pole,
they take the sicknesses back; then the people struck by them
become healthy again.

[822 cont.]

241 782 •756 [292] The shamans are always men (2). They wear women's
[534] clothes and a woman's hairdo. Their drum consists of an iron or wooden ring over which is stretched a sheepskin. They carry
[535] the litter of the mother-goddess onto a threshing floor and dance before it. During the dance the drums are beaten. They do all
[787] kinds of acrobatic feats, and one of them goes into a great trance and wounds himself.

[776] 2. [Foreign text p. 823.] The name for these shamans is *bō*, in other words, the typical Mongolic word. The Tujen strictly differentiate them from the other shamans and the Bon priests. They are the cult dancers designated by the Chinese as *fa-shih*, that is, sorcerer, or *shih-kung*, that is, teacher, whose chief goddess is the *Niang-niang*, that is, mother.

241 782 The sowing festival takes place during the period from the third to the fifth month, the harvest festival in the ninth or tenth month. No village celebrates both festivals. There is no harvest festival where the sowing festival is held, and there is no sowing festival where there is a harvest festival.

[823] At the sowing festival one prays for protection against storms and for rain; at the harvest festival one expresses thanks for the harvest. [The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

600 2. The Pole-goat *

* See "Notes," pp. 829-830 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designation for them in the text.]

[844 cont.]
789 and releases the animal. It may run where it will; no one pays
[825] any attention to it.

Details

789 Persons: The demon-releasing may be undertaken by: a
792 lama, but not a hutukhtu, a Bon priest, a shaman, a spear-
soothsayer, or other soothsayers with litter, table-god, etc. The
791 six-day prayer service, however, is undertaken only by lamas
● 756 and Bon priests; this is the great releasing, [845] whereas the
ceremony performed by a shaman or soothsayer alone is the
little releasing. Even though at the great releasing the lama may
do everything himself, usually a soothsayer nonetheless goes
along (spear, litter, etc.). The members of the family take
care of everything else, getting the animals ready, gifts, etc.

789 The animals: The animals permissible are: horses,
825 cattle, sheep, goats, hens, and cocks. Those not permitted are
dogs, pigs, mules, half-yaks. Dogs and pigs are regarded as un-
[783] clean. Mules and half-yaks are incapable of reproduction; for
this reason, too, one does not take castrated animals. The rules
connected with the animal-consecration do not apply here. The
animals are ridden by the demons and carry the burdens on their
travels. The hens, however, can be burdened; one simply lets
them fly. They are therefore usually used only for the "little
releasing." Special ceremonies, such as washing and fumigating,
are not performed on the animals; also color and age are unimportant.

782
789 The travel provisions: The following things are packed
in the travel bag, which is usually woven out of wool: money
[484] (any kind of money, just so long as it is in circulation at the
[415] time), cloth (for instance, cotton, silk, linen, of any color),
a strand of unspun wool, cotton or silk threads (no wool threads),
tea leaves, baked or steamed loaves in any number desired, a
food bowl of porcelain or clay (no ordinary wooden one), new
men's clothing, elegant boots, cloth shoes, an elegant cap or an

[845 cont.]

789 spear-soothsayer amidst constant shaking; he must remain until
792 the end. They go in front of the yard gate. There another man
[791] waits with the animal. The master of the household places the
saddlebag on the unbridled and unsaddled animal and leads it away by the head harness, followed by the lama, spear-soothsayer, and the other men. The procession goes out of the village by the usual route. Outside the village he leads the animal a distance across the fields, takes off its head harness, and chases it away, and to be sure in an uninhabited direction so that it cannot immediately run back into the village. On the [846] spot at which the animal was released, the lama sets down the torma. Before it a man erects a small wall of clay bricks with the broad side facing the village, so that the demon will not come back again. Then all go home. The animal is not supposed to run home again; no one bothers about what happens to it. It belongs to the demon. In case it does come running back again later, it is driven off with blows of a stick.

789 The simple releasing: Besides this ceremonial form,
791 there is also a simple releasing, which takes only half a day
● 756 or a whole day. One invites a shaman or a soothsayer, who
escorts the things away. On this occasion there is no praying and no torma is made. The master of the household holds a hen in readiness and brings the traveling clothes and food on a tray before the household altar. The soothsayer or shaman invokes the spirit and, followed by the master of the household, goes with the tray out into the field. There a large pile of straw is heaped up. The things on the tray are flung into it and the whole is set afire. While the flames beat upward, the hen is allowed to fly away. -- If a soothsayer officiates, then the performance usually takes place in the morning. If a shaman undertakes the releasing, then it is not done until the late evening at the coming of darkness. The shaman follows
[787] in a state of trance and swings his sword in battle against the
demon. Even if the shaman at the "great releasing" follows the lama in place of a spear-soothsayer, he performs this
[535] sword dance, but this is always in broad daylight (2).

192 [849 cont.]
Raven's feather: kẽrie fōdë.
789 He has painted the demon on paper: tsialdzẽrẽ ilieni xuarladzia.
[778] Hotse's skull: mori tolġuē yăsë.
Little-bearer: ndi kurgēdzin kun = men accompanying the whole (litter?) away.

[Pages 849-850 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[850]

000 4. The Figure-conjuration * (1)

* See "Notes," pp. 851-182 [of foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

755 [192] 1. [Foreign text p. 851.] I could not obtain any clarification concerning the actual name. It seems that the rdzõṅ in rdzõṅwa is the same as [789] in dzõṅrē. The ceremony is quite similar to the one with the figure-litter.

Report

[756] In case of very severe illness one invites in a shaman who makes a series of figures, touches the sick person with them, and takes away the figures in the evening for burning.

[789] [351] [784] Afterwards he buries a series of objects in order to hold down the sickness-demon. The compound remains taboo for all strangers during this time, three, five, seven, or nine days, depending upon the sickness involved.

[850 cont.]

Details

755 778 532 [171] [789] The figures: Nine kinds of things are needed for the figure-conjuration. 1. Five little paper men (2). They are about 10 to 20 centimeters high and of the type of the Chinese paper figures that are burned at the burial. Only here they wear Tujen dress, which depends on whether male or female demons are involved. One can also simply cut them out of a piece of strong paper, but usually they are stuck together in the form of a figure with the help of stalks of grass. 2. Five little tsamba men. They are not colored, but retain the characteristic tsamba color. Also, they wear no clothing and are represented as sexless. 3. A pig made of tsamba. 4. A hen or a cock made of tsamba. 5. A dog made of tsamba. 6. A sheep made of tsamba. 7. A goat of tsamba. 8. A cow of tsamba. 9. A horse of tsamba. These figures [756] are made by shamans with the help of a skillful man, in a way similar to the figures of the figure-litter.

2. [Foreign text p. 851.] The Chinese, too, have these paper figures at their demon exorcisms; they call them wu-tao shen. Among them, however, it is not clear whether five or only one demon is involved. They are mentioned once in the shen-hsien t'ung-chien as wu-tao lei-shen, that is, five-way thunder-spirits, which punish human beings through wind, rain, water, fire, and epidemics.

755 782 Then they are put on a tray with the following accompanying gifts: a piece of raw pork, beef, or mutton, some pieces of cloth and threads in the five sacred colors for the five little men, and bread and money. The tray is set before the household altar, and a burning dough-lamp and a basin with cypress incense or a number of incense sticks are put in front of it.

[850 cont.]

755 The conjuration: As soon as it is dark the gurtum goes into a trance in the usual fashion before the household altar.
● 756 Then he rises, fights [851] the demons with his sword in the air,
[787] and goes to the sick person. The tray is brought after him. With his one free hand he takes one figure after another from the tray, touches the affected places on the patient with them while constantly swinging the sword and murmuring magic words, and puts them back on the tray (5).

[171]
[789]
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782

5. [Foreign text p. 852.] The custom of transferring sickness to animals or animal figures is also reported of Siberian shamans elsewhere. In this case, however, the similarity with the above-described Bon custom is to be noted. Originally actual animals might have been sacrificed. It was Buddhism that first combated these sacrifices and abolished them. Then substitute figures arose for them. H. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], pp. 176 and 263, writes in this connection: "...prohibits for the hated rivals the sacrifice of animals. In this connection the interesting fact is mentioned that the Bon-po were forced to make images of yaks and sheep out of grain mush, as well as wooden deer heads with wide horns, which henceforth had to serve as substitutes at the sacrificial ceremonies. The first-mentioned dough figures, made by means of wooden molds, are still found today, it is worthy of note, even in the rites of the Lamaists"; cf. loc. cit., where the literature is also cited.

[851 cont.]

755 Then he storms out into the street, and the men follow
him with the things while he fights on with his sword. As soon
752 as they are out of the village and reach a crossroads, they stop.
A man piles a back-basket full of straw on the ground, and the
things from the tray are thrown into it. Then the whole thing is
set afire. They do not wait any longer, but quickly go home.

755 Burial of the magic objects: The shaman designates a
789 spot on the ground in front of the yard gate; the men immedi-
[787] ately dig a pit there. The shaman, still in a trance, puts nine
kinds of things in it. First he puts a black food bowl on the floor
[752] of the pit; he puts red-hot coals in the food bowl, pours pure
water over them, and puts in an iron knife, a small bow and
arrow, a magic wooden dagger, a black chain (3), and a piece
of iron from a town gate. He inverts a large earthen vessel over
the whole (4); the men fill the pit and level it off so that one

[778] 3. [Foreign text pp. 851-852.] The magic dagger and the black chain are also used in connection with the pole-goat; cf. the appropriate section. No clarification could be obtained concerning the type of wood used for this dagger. The informant called it [852] *siraldzin*; he translated it with the Chinese *huang-san* (*shan*) *tzu* in the sense of yellow-mountain (wood). In the DMF there is the translation "*armoise*," Artemisia. This could not possibly be involved here. It must be a very hard kind of wood.

4. [Foreign text p. 852.] The chain binds the demons, and the vessel caps them.

[851 cont.]

755 can no longer see where the things are buried.

[789] Now all go into the house. The shaman awakes from his
[787] trance.
[756]

Word List

192 755 Figure-conjuration:	rdzõnwa (Tib. loanword) (1) [see Note 1 above], (5) [see Note 5 above], (6)

6. [Foreign text p. 852] rdzõṅwa or dzȯ̃nre: At the base of these two words lies the Tibetan stem rdsons = to take away (pronounced: dzon). siraldzin: Mongolic sira ṁodon = yellow-wood. It is an especially hard kind of wood, Phellodendron amurense (Unkrig).

[778] Figures (little men):	rdzõṅrë (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].
Raw meat:	tōgō maxa.
Black food-bowl:	xara iġa.
Black vessel:	xara pëndzë.
Knife:	tsidëġuo.
Magic dagger:	siral(dzin) (6) [see Note 6 above] mpuru = yellow-wood magic-dagger.
Chain:	fsiasġa.
Iron from the town gate:	badzër-udie timur.

000 [Pages 851-852 contain the notes given aboveas numbered footnotes.]

[852] 5. The Washing of the Sick*

* See "Notes," p. 854 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation the notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[852 cont.] 5. The Washing of the Sick

Report

755 The washing of the sick is undertaken by the sword-
[756] shaman at the coming of darkness. He puts himself in a trance
[787] as is customary during the incense offering, then throws a few
kernels of Tibetan barley on his breast-mirror, which is held
flat, and prophesies which illness is involved; then he under-
[357] takes the ceremonies. The taboo for the compound begins on
the following day and, depending on the declaration of the
[784] shaman, may last three, five, or seven days.

The ceremony has three parts: the actual washing, fire-blowing, and the healing drink. The things needed for the washing are provided by the family itself.

Details

The washing of the sick: The washing takes place in the kitchen. The following things are needed for it: seven bowls of fresh water, an iron knife, a door lock, seven white stones, a bowl of liquor, some flowers, three, five, and seven pieces of paper with certain prayer texts, seven different things in all.

755 Now in the kitchen the hearth kettle is washed, fumi-
gated, and placed on the fire. The master of the household
756 lights the fire and throws [853] incense twigs into it. Now the
[787] shaman, already in a trance, comes out of the main house
into the kitchen; in his right hand he holds his spirit-sword,
while he keeps his left hand free for the various actions.

First the seven bowls of water are poured into the kettle,
and the shaman throws incense twigs and Tibetan barley into it.
[783] Then he thrusts his sword through his clothes into his chest as
proof of his power and in order to purify himself. No blood flows.

Meanwhile the sick person is brought into the kitchen.
The shaman bares the chest of the patient and thrusts the above-
mentioned knife midway into it. No blood may flow. If the
[787] sick person bleeds, then he will not be healed; if he does not
bleed, he will be saved. The shaman plasters the wound with
one of the prayer sheets; he throws the knife into the kettle.

[853 cont.]

755 During this time a man heats the seven white stones in
the hearth fire until they are red-hot. Then he takes them out
756 with an iron spoon and with it hands them to the shaman. The
latter takes one stone after another in his mouth and spits them
into the kettle. Then he throws the other things, the lock, the
flowers, and the prayer texts, into the water and finally pours in
the bowl of liquor. Now the sick person is completely disrobed,
and the shaman washes him from top to bottom with his one free
hand, scooping the boiling water out of the kettle with his hand.
Then the sick person is put back on his kang in the house.

The water remains in the kettle, on the following two days, when the shaman has already gone, the people must repeat the washing. On the third day they pour out the water in front of the yard gate. They can use the things, the lock, knife, etc., again for ordinary purposes.

755 The fire-blowing: After the washing the shaman goes
into the room of the sick person. During this time the men in
372 the yard start a strong fire with sheep dung and wood. They put
756 a plowshare in it and make it white-hot. A man puts a stick
[787] through the white-hot plowshare and takes it in to the shaman,
who is still in a trance, but has given his sword to another man.
Now he seizes the glowing plowshare with both hands with a
hada that hangs from his breast-mirror, licks it with his bare
tongue, takes a respectable mouthful of liquor, and turns to the
sick person. He blows the alcohol out of his mouth over the
[273] plowshare in strong blasts, which each time makes a burst of
fire shoot out toward the sick person. Then he takes the plowshare
in front of the gate and places it at the foot of the yard
wall. There the men immediately throw earth over it and wall
it in.

755 The drink of the sick: Now the shaman again goes into
the room of the sick person. A man extends an iron spoon to
756 him. He rips off a piece of the hada on his protective-mirror,
places it in the spoon, and throws a few barley kernels in it.
Then a man pours water into the spoon until it is full, holds it

[853 cont.]

755 in the hearth fire until the water boils and the cloth and barley are thoroughly boiled. He hands this decoction to the sick person
● 756 who must drink it down immediately. With that the ceremony is ended.

[854] The shaman rests from his exertions, eats his supper, and goes home.

192

Word List

755 Washing the sick:	ġuăndzi (xuăndzie) fdzë šdani = the shaman boils water.
[756] Sword-shaman:	sgurdien.
Knife:	tsidiǵuo.
Lock:	tsürǵuo.
Red-hot stone:	sōdaṅ; ts'u-t'an (ch'ü-t'an) (Chin.).
Barley liquor:	miṅ-liu dērasë.
Flowers:	tsidziǵ.
Prayer texts:	dzayaṅ (1).

1. dzayãń: Mongolic ḍayaġan (pronounced ḍayan) = fortune, fate, etc.; meaning: prayer of fate (Unkrig).

000

6. The House-purification *

* See "Notes," p. 855. [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

755 If someone is seriously ill, then the shaman, with the
789 men of the household, undertakes a house-purification. On this
756 occasion the demon is conjured out of the house in a straw doll,
[783] dragged out of the village, and burned.

[854 cont.]

755 Exorcism: Towards evening, when darkness begins to
789 fall, the shaman goes into a trance before the household altar (1).

[756]
[787] 1. [Foreign text p. 855.] Before the exorcism the shaman divines, with barley on his protective mirror, which demon is involved.

During this time a man runs out of the village with the hen to a
crossroads, twists or hacks off the hen's head, and with the
fluttering [855] hen squirts the blood in all directions of the com-
[782] pass. Then he throws away the hen as food for the demon and
goes home. -- The straw man is put on the threshold of the main
house or in the yard.

As soon as the shaman is in a trance, he jumps up and,
755 running in wild leaps through all the rooms of the compound,
789 performs the sword battle against the demon. The men follow
756 him. Stones hail down on the ground. One circles around in
[787] the rooms with the torches. One man holds the oil-pan, takes
mouthfuls of liquor, and blows it over the fire into the room, so
[273] that each time a red flash shoots out. Others crack the whip
from room to room and shoot burning arrows at the floor. In
this way the demon is driven into the straw doll. This is dragged by a hemp string or a straw rope out of the gate over the village street to the nearest crossroads, where the hen is lying. The shaman follows, fighting with his sword; stones, blows, fire-arrows, and flashes of fire rain down on the doll. It is left lying at the crossroads. The men pour the oil out of the pan over it, throw the torches, arrows, stones, etc. on it, and leave it smoldering (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 855.] This form of exorcism is the simplest of all. Usually all kinds of other ceremonies are connected with it. I once saw such a sword-shaman as he was trying to heal a child among the Chinese. He cast

[855 cont.]

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● 756

[Note on foreign text p. 855 cont.] about himself with sword and lance, hacked the hen to pieces, hacked up a straw man, swung a winnowing shovel and a sieve, danced, and foamed at the mouth.

In this way the demon is conjured away. The shaman goes home and has his supper.

192

Word List

755 House-purification:	rdzõṅwa (rĕdzõńwa).
789 The torch:	huo-pa (Chin.).
[416] The stones:	tašë; sa-shih (Chin.).
Oil-basin:	ġal-tuġuo; yu-kuo (Chin.).
Fire-arrow:	ġal sëmu; huo-chien (Chin.).
Fire-bow:	ġal lĕmu; huo-kung (Chin.).
The hemp whip:	uluosĕ yudier; ma-pien-tzu (Chin.).
The hen:	taġū; huo-chi (Chin.), huo: here - to live.
[778] The straw man:	šdagu kun; ts'ao-jen (Chin.).

[The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

[856]

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7. The Earth-god Urn *

* See "Notes," pp. 858-860 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

If misfortune prevails in the house, then sometimes the

[861 cont.]

782 outside for the ceremony, and the lama makes another torma of
792 pure butter. He takes this outside and puts it on the drawing of
the burning-place. Then the ceremony of the fire-pouring follows, at which all kinds of wood and spices are burned.

The lama continues to pray until evening. The following morning he receives his fee and is taken back to the monastery. Sometimes, however, one keeps him a few more days for
[784] prayers. -- After the fire-pouring the yard remains taboo for at
[351] least another week.

Details

[756] Persons: The fire-pouring may not be undertaken by shamans, but only by lamas. These are not ordinary lamas, however. Only the three top classes are considered for it: the Hutukhtu, the Tsũordzi, and the Känpo. Usually three lamas are needed. It suffices if one of them belongs to the higher rank, but one often invites more (1).

[791] 1. [Foreign text p. 867.] Other Tujen claim that a Bon priest could also undertake the fire-pouring, which, after all, is to be expected, at least in the case of the black fire-pouring. The old informant, however, and other people, too, decidedly contest this. According to them, only a lama (gelõṅgba) is to be considered for this; the Bon priests, they claim, concern themselves only with demon exorcism.

782 The fire-pouring may be ordered by a private person (man or woman), by an individual family, or by the entire village. -- During the ceremony, the general avoidance pre-
[562] scriptions apply. Women may be present, but may not assist.

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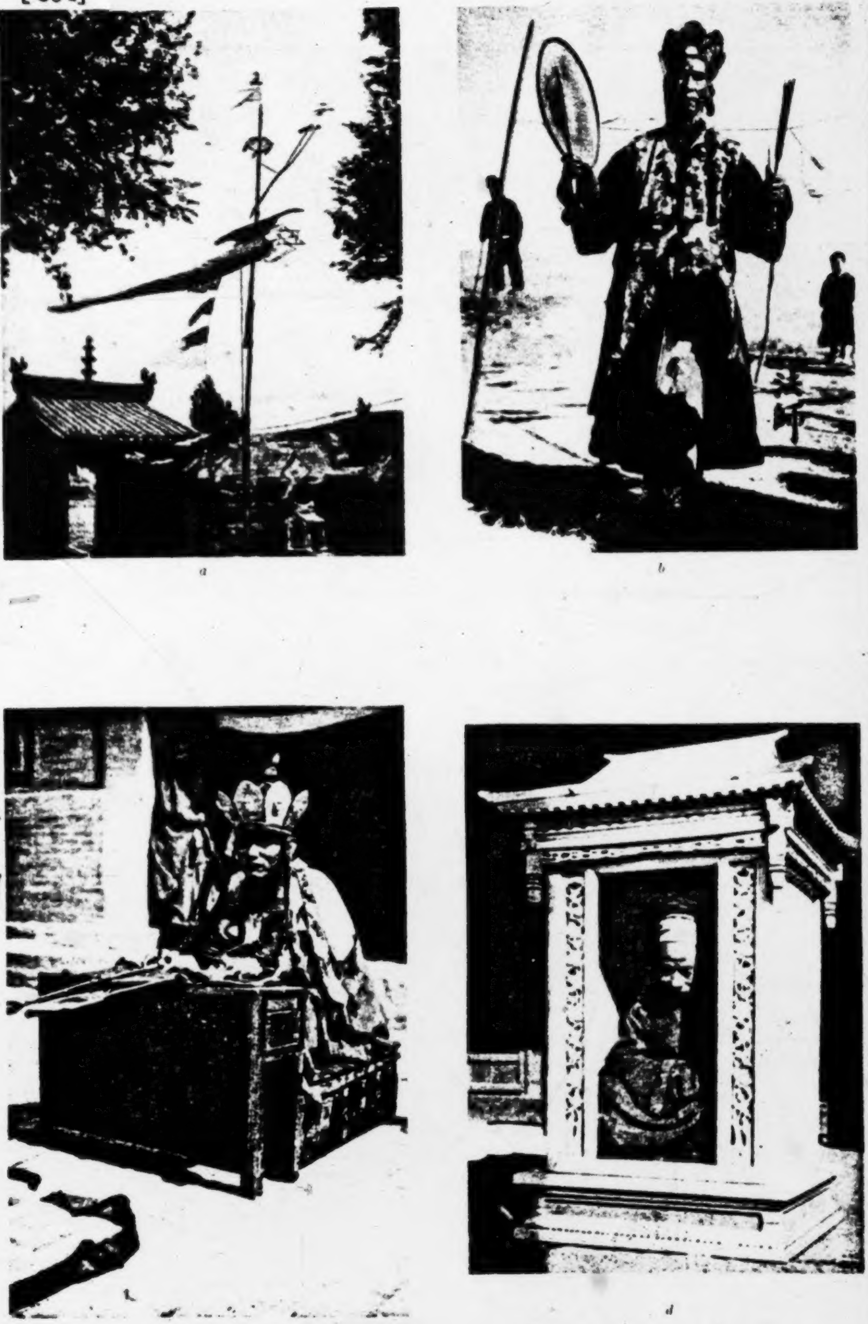

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(Caption on following page.)

[865 cont.]

Caption for illustrations *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*.

241 *a*: Fully-equipped shaman-mast in the local temple at Pao-chia-k'ou
782 (Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) at the sowing festival, 1948. The same
●752 shaman-trees are erected at the harvest thank-offering. There
[754] are also simpler forms, however. (To accompany the chapter,
[341] "The Harvest Thank-offering.") *b*: Drum-shaman, *fa-shih* or
shih-kung or *bo*. A Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai near the Tujen
[292] village Chia-chia-ling. Taken at the harvest thanksgiving festival,
[534] Chia-chia-ling, October, 1948. In his right hand, he holds
[778] the hoop-drum with the stick; in his left hand he holds the three-pointed
spirit-sword; over his shoulder he carries the hemp whip
[142] with the carved handle. The five-part crown is like that of the
gurtum. (To accompany the chapter, "The Sowing and Harvest
Festivals.")

782 *c*: Lama in full dress and with implements for the fire-pouring.
792 Photograph posed in the lamasery Hsin-szu, about ten kilometers
292 west of Tangkar, May, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "The
Fire-pouring.") *d*: The Taoshih of Kanchiapu in the death position
764 in his death-box. The doors have been taken off. Photograph
[171] posed. The death-box of the Tujen is almost identical.
Kanchiapu, spring, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "Customs
concerning the Dead.") Photographs: Dominik Schröder.

(continuation of text)
782 butter, little plates, etc., until everything is burned in the fire.
792 The lama now gives the concluding prayer amidst the sound of his
percussion instruments and returns to the house. -- He cleans his
instruments, takes his meal, receives his fee, and on the following
day rides back to the monastery with his companions, unless
one wants to keep him there for other prayers that have nothing
to do with the fire-pouring.

[357] The compound remains taboo for seven days, and during
[784] these seven days the burning-place is left as it is. Afterwards,
the wall is torn down, and all traces of the ceremony are removed.
[333] The clay bricks can be used again for profane purposes.

[204 cont.]
776 of the Bon, the Dāntsien-Sang, who hammers his iron on the
buck's head so that there is lightning and thunder (cf. "The Pole-goat," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 823 ff.) [pp. 218 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

The remaining Lamaistic gods do not have the importance
among the people that might be expected. They know of
796 Maitreya, whose image is displayed and venerated on the sixth
535 day in the sixth month after the temple dances in the yard of
Êrh-ku-lung; furthermore, Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Yellow
Church, in Chinese called pao-pei-fo-yeh, Precious-Stone Buddha,
791 and the soothsaying god Pekar, whom the people simply call
sgurdien (gurtum), and who often is set up life-sized with full
788 warrior equipment in the temple on pilgrimage days. This
756 Lamaistic oracle-god, however, is venerated less by the people
than by the true shamans. -- No identification of Buddha with
the highest being (heaven) is to be observed among the people.
Nothing higher than heaven is known. Cf. below (pp. 348 ff.).

c) The Demons

Aside from the countless spirits, the uluon purgan, the
world is further populated by countless demons, the so-called
753 ilie. They harm human beings through disease, misfortune,
777 failure of crops, and bad weather. Especially feared is [205] the
731 plague-god Barma, Chinese wen-shen, epidemic-god, at whom
the black fire-pouring is directed. The storm demons are com-
782 bated by the spirits of the weather ministry. They fear above all
the red-hot projectiles that rain down to earth from the anvil of the
Dāntsien-Sang and kill them.

The Lamaistic terror-gods, among whom the mother of the gods, Lha-mo, is best known to the people, are not regarded as demons. Their main task is not to torment human beings, but to protect the true Lamaistic doctrine from its enemies.

774 2. The soul- and world-picture

a) Conception of the Soul

[208 cont.]

775 nonetheless know of no ancestor cult, and it is striking that they
[171] are not inclined to take this over from the Chinese. The offerings to the dead at the funeral celebration are rather to be under-
769 stood as from the fear characterized above and from the ideas that
[764] the deceased would remain among the living and would need to
partake of food and drink. Also, all the grave gifts, which are
[782] so important to the Chinese, are lacking among the Tujen.

Aside from death, the soul can escape and wander off
774 even during life. This happens in dreams and during illness,
[573] indeed, even during ordinary sleep. How this is to be imagined
[753] is shown by a passage in the Geser legend, in which it is said
that a scoundrel had fallen asleep and his souls, in the shape
of a black and a white snake, had crept away out of his nostrils,
for which reason he was unable to wake up. The recall of the
[756] soul is a frequently desired activity of the Tujen shaman. This
755 catching of the soul is called: suniedzë̄ xura-. It is unclear from
this expression which of the three souls is involved.

[209] b) The World-picture

772 The world-picture of the Tujen extensively corresponds
[171] to the Lamaistic one, which, indeed, is essentially the same
as in the ancient Orient, in pre-Buddhistic India, and in Central
Asia. It has no pecularity.

In the center of the universe stands the mountain Sumeru (rira). The world is arranged around it in three layers. Sun, moon, and stars circle above. In the center is the surface of the earth with the various countries, human beings, and animals. Around the foundation of the world-mountain lie the underworld and the water. This conception is repeated in its entirety or in part in the religious life in pictorial form. It is found
most unequivocally in the mandala-offering of the Bon during
[778] the erection of the pole-goat (mountain-torma). More or less
clear variants of it are: the central fort with the mani-tree, the
chorten chamber with the sky-column, the obo, the ground-drawings (maṇḍala), at the fire-pouring, and at the cremation.

[214 cont.]
782 mani padme hum," or when they turn to heaven with the old
788 saying, "Heaven knows." -- [215] They include these two types
of prayer under the expression yaṅdzila-, to implore, to request,
and this is usually linked with the offering in order to express their
attitude. The independent, pure prayer is quite rare.

The people are still not satisfied with this kind of prayer,
however, but like to turn to the ritual, cultic prayer, for which
[463] there are the special professions of the priests: the Bon and the
lamas and the Taoist monks. This is not to say that these are
[792] invited exclusively for the prayer, but how strongly the people
[791] connect praying with these professions is shown by the common
designation that is used both among the Tujen and among the
[192] Chinese to differentiate them from the laity: nien-ching-ti jen,
that is, praying person. This official praying is called luom
mošē, to recite prayers, exactly as in the Chinese nien-ching.
In the eyes of the people this is the classical, correct prayer,
something rigidly formulated, recited according to definite
rites, fixed by the sacred texts, like the sutra (luom) and the
Chinese ching.

[463] Thus one can say that the offering primarily falls to the
laity, but the praying to special professions.

4. Magic

789 I was unable to confirm hardly any true folk-magic.
● 756 There is a whole assortment of magic operations and the use of
[791] amulets, but in general the people fetch shamans, Taoist priests,
Bon priests, and soothsayers for this. Since the main goal of
magic is to ward off evil spirits, this task falls above all to the
shamans, who, moreover, combat the demons with the help of
their tutelary spirits. Thus, magic and shamanism are closely
linked.

771
5. The Mixed Character of Tujen Religion

174 The customs of the Tujen clearly show that we are not
dealing with a simple form of belief, but with a multi-layered

[217 cont.]

771 174 Now, concerning the elements which make up these customs, they fall almost entirely into four groups, each of which constitutes a special layer. These four layers are: the belief in a supreme god, shamanism, the Bon religion, and Lamaism. The layers, however, cannot simply be taken out of the whole structure, freed from all the extra features, and connected with a larger pervading stratum of the Central Asiatic religions. This is only possible in a larger context and would go beyond the bounds of this work, for the parts in question are of considerable temporal depth and embrace many peoples. In addition these layers have interpenetrated one another in that in each case the later one has absorbed the elements of the preceding ones. Thus, Lamaism, in spite of its original enmity toward the Bon religion, has nonetheless adopted much from it. The Bon faith, on the other hand, in turn has a strong shamanistic base, and an old sky-cult runs through all the layers.

771 128 756 A discussion of the two high religions, of the Bon and of Lamaism, in their connection with the belief of the Tujen would go too far. Shamanism can more readily be delimited, but it cannot be exhaustively presented either. So there remains the old sky-cult as a belief in a supreme god. This will be dealt with quite extensively in the following, whereas in the case of shamanism the presentation must be limited to a theoretical sketch. A special work will deal with it in detail for the whole western Chinese border region. The Bon religion and Lamaism will only be touched upon briefly.

II. The Layers of the Tujen Religion

114 771

1. The Belief in a Supreme God

In this section it is necessary to refer not only to the customs but also to the other sources and the scanty literature. Aside from the DMF and Mariage (by Schram), which offer a sparse yield for the religion, the other sources are still unpublished. [538] They are available in the original texts, however. These are the Geser legend, the agriculture legend, the Moschus deer (the first part of the song cycle known under the name xoni, sheep), and a series of other songs and fairy tales, of which the wedding songs are appearing (Folklore Studies, Tokyo, 1952).

[225 cont.]

782 more suitable for heaven (8). The relationship to the supreme being is also expressed, for example, in the wedding songs from Khalatse (western Tibet). There, according to Francke, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 f., it is said: "This blue smoke that rises upward signifies that no trouble will arise with *brGya-byin*, the lord of the gods."

The Sheep Offering

[825] The sheep as a sacrificial animal, according to the material available, is reserved in a special way for heaven and the mountain-spirit, even though it may also be offered to the other gods. It is never offered to the mountain-spirit alone without heaven, however. There are sheep offerings [241] that apply only to heaven, namely at the sowing and harvest

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[823] [773] 8. Above all the rising smoke connects this offering to heaven; the expression *ġarġa*, to make rise, is especially to be noted here. The smoke is like a living column of heaven or a living road to heaven. •[756] The shamanistic significance of the incense offering comes from this; not only promotes the trance, but is at the same time the path and motive power of the journey to heaven. [773] The first emperor of the Geser legend demands, for instance, that during his journey to heaven the incense offering not be interrupted; the rising smoke strikes against the gate of heaven and opens the entrance for him, and he shoots his incompetent companion on the tip of his arrow into the rising column of smoke, in which he descends to earth.

[229 cont.]

776 concerned about the well-being of the people, it is striking that
171 he is not linked with the protection of seed and harvest. Otherwise, however, his tasks correspond to those of heaven, even if he is primarily a nature god who shares his character with the lord of the animals and forests of many Siberian peoples.

776 Nonetheless there is a difference between him and heaven. First of all heaven is given precedence, even in connection with all offerings to the mountain-spirit, for instance, the obo offering. Whereas the mountain-spirit has a fixed residence in the obo, his fort, and therefore is tied to the place, heaven retains its freedom with regard to locality. The moun-
[553] tain-spirit can also be a tutelary spirit of the human beings who are named after him; as assisting spirit he may enter into the
[752] shaman and take possession of him in the trance. This is alto-
[787] gether out of the question for heaven. People are surprised if one even asks about it. There are pictures and flags of the mountain spirit; he can animate a spirit-spear. Heaven is formless, imageless; no one knows what it looks like. -- Heaven has an exalted uniqueness even in contrast to the mountain-spirit.

174 Besides the mountain-spirit the earth-deity has its seat in the obo, and, to be sure, in the layer of earth. Its name
776 glu is doubtless the Tibetan klu, Naga, dragon. In Mongolic
[192] the word for it is lu, which is also much in use in the Tujen language. It corresponds to the Chinese lung (dragon). The customs with the earth-god urn show the earth deity of the Tujen more in the Bonistic realm of the Naga cult than in the Mongolic. It is quite possible that two types have mixed here or that the ancient Mongolic has been covered by the later Bonistic-Lamaistic. According to Pallisen (op. cit., pp. 159 f.), the ancient Mongols practiced a cult of the earth-deity, who is probably to be thought of as female. There it bears the name itoga or, in the prevocalic version, etügen, and is conceived as the tutelary deity of the homeland earth. The characteristics that are attributed to this deity correspond to those of the mountain-spirit. It is also to be surmised that this deity is to be associated with the female shamans, who call themselves udugan

[234 cont.]

777 god of good fortune. It seems that further reminders of these
776 times still echo in the Tujen songs: of the fate of the Mongols,
171 which is based on good fortune; or of the *sülde* of the khan,
which invisibly protects his subjects (UdG., *loc. cit.*). -- Whatever the connections may be, neither according to Uno Harva nor according to Banzarov-Schmidt nor in the conception of the Tujen themselves is there a fate or good fortune that is independent of the rule of heaven.

772 Summary. -- Everything that has been said about heaven
776 proves it to be an independent deity existing for itself, sharply
separated from all other gods, ruling them and dominating the entire world. Its name is "heaven," not in the physical but in the personal sense. Everything pantheistic and animistic and every *mana* concept remains far removed from it. To be sure, it is not one god [monotheism] in the strict sense, but an authentic supreme god, a towering unique phenomenon among all the other deities. Because of this uniqueness the statement of A. Tafel about the Tujen can now be repeated in its correct interpretation: "Many say they have only one single god in which they believe."

[235]

2. Shamanism

121 Whereas the discussion of the belief in a supreme god
756 could be confined to the region of the Tujen themselves and the
corresponding sources, this is not possible for shamanism, for which reason a detailed presentation would not be suitable for this work. It is reserved for a special study. Here the ground-plan can only be drawn in a sketchy fashion, merely representing a theory, because the detailed proofs must be omitted here. The question runs: Of what type is Tujen shamanism and where is it to be classified from the religio-historical standpoint? -- Three types are found among the Tujen: *bō*-shamanism (drum-shamans), gurtum-shamanism (warrior-shamans), and idol-shamanism (with the spear-soothsayer).

[235 cont.]

a) The bō or Drum-shamans

756 Characterization

192 The name: The Tujen name current throughout the land, bō, corresponds to the written Mongolic būge. Koval. (1242) gives for it the Chinese equivalent wu-jen, the Manchurian saman, the Tatar bugu, and the Tibetan lha-pa. The Russian expressions means: shaman, sorcerer; he translates it into French as: chaman, enchanteur. The Mongolic būge and all the other translations cited do not have any uniform meaning and can be used for the various types of shamans, exorcists, and even sorcerers.

The Chinese in the area and the Tujen translate bō with fashih, or somewhat contemptuously with shih-kung. The fa-shih call themselves only by this special name. According to communications (P.P. Eichinger, Bockwinkel), the name wu-shih is also in use in southern Kansu. It is important that all these designations are never permissible for the gurtum. The fa-shih are a special group that is to be clearly defined. (Space forbids going into an explanation of the names here.)

756 292 [531] [302] Clothing and equipment. -- The fa-shih wear an old woman's costume without sleeves and usually patterned with pictures of dragons. Normally they have no head covering, but their hair is pinned up in the fashion of an old Chinese style for women, unless they are wearing an appropriate wig with hairknots, hair-bowl, and hairpin.. These are not always available, however. On special occasions, they don the well-known five-part Buddhistic crown called p'ai-tzu.

756 Their essential equipment consists of the hoop drum, the hemp whip, and a three-pronged broad dagger. Other objects are added according to their functions.

756 776 Gods. -- Their principal deity is the great mother (ta niang-niang), also called mother of the nine heavens (chiu t'ien nai-nai). In addition, they also venerate the black tiger

[The bō or Drum-Shamans]

[235 cont.]

756 and, depending upon the region, various local spirits. These
[776] gods predominantly come from the Taoist pantheon.

[789]
[241] [236] Activity. -- Their principal task is the weather conjuration, the sowing and harvest festivals, and curing sick-
[755] nesses.

756 Peculiarity. -- The bō or fa-shih are differentiated from
787 the other shamans by the fact that they have no trance. If one questions the people about it, one always receives the same answer: "fa-shih pu fa shen (the fashih do not go into ectascy)." Now that is not entirely correct. Namely, at the conclusion of the sowing or harvest festival, one of them attempts an imitation of the trance and wounds himself with the knife. This is called: "fa ta-shen (to produce a great trance)." It is not a trance at all, but at most a relic suggesting it; I was able to observe it several times. Thus the people are basically right when they do not accord ecstasy to them. -- The people sum up the main
756 characteristic, however, in the saying: "fa-shih ch'uei ku, t'iao
535 shen (the fashih beat the drum and perform spirit dances)." Drum and dance are the most outstanding. They always dance in groups before the image of the great mother in order to please her, or also before the sacrificial pig. These are not shamanistic individual dances in order to induce a trance, but are cultic group-dances that follow a definite ritual. One can therefore designate them as drum- or dance-shamans, although true shamanistic features are scarcely present any more.

Classification

171 Relationship to the more recent Siberian shamanism.
756 -- There are few similarities with Siberian shamanism. One could regard the drum as the most important continuation from Siberian shamanism. The relationship with the Tungusic and Mongolic-Manchurian shamanism is stronger. The drum has almost exactly the same execution and the same appendages as, for example, among the Mongols of the Kürie-Banner. (Cf.

[236 cont.]
171 Heissig, "Shamanen," Folklore Studies, 3, 1944, p. 72, Figs. 1-
756 7; likewise Shirokogorov, Psychomental Complex, pp. 297 f.)
The absence of the trance seems to fit in least of all with Siberian shamanism.

The relationship to China. -- First the distribution must be considered. According to personal observations and various reports by the Chinese and missionaries, the fashih type is spread over all of Kansu and Shansi and into the interior of the coastal provinces Hopeh and Shantung. In the Amdo region he is found wherever there are Chinese settlements, especially in the vicinity of Sining and Kweiteh (on the Yellow River). In type he fits in well with an agricultural people, precisely through the emphasis of the harvest ceremony and of the female appearance.

Almost all the origin reports that I was able to gather attest to the descent of the fashih from a woman, a first shamaness. She was brought to life from a female skeleton through a magic incantation by T'ai-shang lao-chün (a title of Lao-tzu) and received from him her shamanistic powers. In southern Hopeh today the fashih are still predominantly women. -- Furthermore, the fashih are always associated with the spirits of the dead and ancestors, which likewise agrees with the Chinese mentality.

[237] The origin legends and the deities also point to a close connection with Wuism or Taoism. (Cf. De Groot, Religious System, Vol. VI, Part II, 1187 ff.) The god-litter with the niang-niang is almost the same as the one pictured there. The Taoists, sworn enemies of the fashih, claim that the latter split off from them as a false sect. Whereas the Taoists represented an official and respected religion, the fashih, as bearers of the shen-chiao (spirit religion), led a despised existence up to the most recent times.

174 The position in Tsinghai. -- Apparently this Chinese [illegible]
756 shamanism also came to Amdo with the Chinese settlers. There it has adopted various elements, diluted its original shamanistic character, and fostered the cultic group-dance. Since the

[237 cont.]

174 weather conjuration from the Bon was much practiced there, it also took this over, which, indeed, was close to it in type.
752 Probably the weather-conjuring Bon were absorbed by them.

The Tujen have likewise permitted their Mongolic shamanism to flow into this fashih shamanism and have transferred to it the original name, bō. A Tujen bō once said: "We have a common root with the Mongolic shamans." This shamanism has remained remote from Lamaism, as well as from the gurtum; a certain rivalry exists between it and them.

The question of the bō or fa-shih demands an extensive presentation of Chinese shamanism generally, which has already been undertaken.

b) The Gurtum or Warrior-shamans

Characterization

756 Appearance. -- Among the Tujen the gurtum wears a
292 red cloak that is held together with a cloth belt, a shoulder collar, a chest mirror, a Lamaistic amulet or a hada (ceremonial cloth) in the chest bag, a headcloth that covers the eyes, a garland of bells around his forehead, and on top of it the five-part Lamaistic crown. The most important piece of his equipment is the sword, without which he does not shamanize at all, so that really one should call the Tujen gurtum a "sword-shaman." He also uses other weapons, however, such as the spirit-spear and the knife. At major ceremonies he also works with sieve, winnowing-fan, and five little paper men called wu-tao shen in Chinese, which could be translated as "five-direction spirits."

The whole type of the gurtum is that of a warrior who exorcises misfortune in the demon battle. Aside from this popular image of his appearance, which is fairly complete, there are also simple, degenerated types who wear only the
[177] most necessary equipment, say, the headcloth, the chest mirror, and the sword, even over a modern European suit. At solemn sword battles, however, they also appear in full regalia.

[237 cont.]

756 292 The most distinguished form of the gurtum is undoubtedly the Lamaistic temple-shaman. He appears in magnificent battle dress, with bow and arrow and [238] spirit-spear. On his back he carries little flags, like the former Chinese general, and thereby identifies himself as the leader of an army whose parts are represented precisely by these flags. When one sees these gurtum -- for instance, in Kumbum or Kuo-mang-szu -- one involuntarily thinks of the traditional heroes of the Chinese theater. On the other hand, in the rest of their equipment they remind one of the Lamaistic war gods who are regarded as protectors of the dogma. To be sure, in individual instances there are variations, but in general the type of these temple shamans remains the same, and they are designated in general by the same name as the people's gurtum.

756 Written Chinese also has the name hu-fa, which is a translation of c'os skyoń or Dharmapala. J. F. Rock also emphasizes their similarity to an army leader: "The Dharmapāla are demon-generals who execute the will of the tutelaries, or demon-kings. They are hideous and fierce-looking and each commands a horde of demons" [cited in English] (Na-khi Kingdom, I, p. 210, Note 26).

192 756 The shaman character. -- The word "gurtum," in Tujen sgurdien, in Chinese ku-erh-tien or ku-wai-tien, stems from Tibetan Lamaistic terminology. It comes from the word sku-rten, and not, as F. Lessing believes, from skur-bltams, body shakers (F. Lessing, Mongolen, p. 143). According to Ch. Das (536), rten signifies something that supports, bears, or contains something; sku-rten, according to him, means the same as: the bearer or the container of a person himself, an image of the gods or Buddha. On page 89 he gives sku-rten as an abbreviation of the three aspects sku, gsuń, t'ugs-rten. According to page 91, sku-gsuń-t'ugs are the body, speech, and thinking, in other words the three realms of human behavior or suffering: deed, word, thought. Concerning the cosmic mythological co-ordination of these aspects with the world directions and the five c'os skyoń, cf. further below. The expression sku-rten, in other words, signifies that the gurtum is the container of a deity

[238 cont.]

756 that acts, speaks, and thinks in him. This, however, is nothing
[192] other than an express possession-shamanism reduced to a simple
Busshistic formula. The gurtum represents a deity.

756 Whether one may appeal to the gurtum in the "classical"
171 sense as a shaman is a question that can only be answered with
the final clarification of the shaman concept. In the investigation of shamanism up to now there has been too much concern with its Siberian form and special emphasis on the flight of the soul into the beyond as a "classical" characteristic, especially with the "bird type" of shaman (9). This is not the place to go into this question in greater detail, which is reserved for later [239] treatment. It should nonetheless be stated in advance that the gurtum is a true shaman of the same shamanistic rank as the Siberian. Anyone who has had an opportunity to observe a gurtum will not regard him simply as one possessed. The gurtum is likewise as bound to the ritual requirements and forms as, say, his Siberian colleague: call (vision), tutelary spirit, testing, dress and equipment, ecstasy, etc. In addition, there is much to indicate that formerly he was also familiar with the flight of the soul.

[114] 9. The one-sided preference for Siberian shamanism is also unfortunately found in the excellent work by Mircea Eliade, Le Chamanisme, in which, to be sure, there are comparisons with other parts of the earth, and the "southern" and Buddhist influences are also taken into consideration, but they are dealt with only as secondary and unimportant; above all, however, the so characteristic stamp of Lamaistic shamanism in the figure of the gurtum is completely passed over.

[239 cont.]

756 The religious character. -- What has been said up to now about the nature and activities of the gurtum shows that they rest upon a passive and receptive basic attitude, a basic attitude that seems to be at variance with the warrior-shaman. The relationship of dependency, however, in the realm of "divine" possession, with regard to the possessor-spirit, is unequivocal. The active ability to coerce, the arbitrariness, which represents the basic element of magic, is lacking. The basis is religious, not magical.

[787] The gurtum himself can do nothing about his calling.
It comes over him unwilled, sometimes against his will. One
day he is seized by the spirit in a vision, put in ecstasy, and
756 recognizes by sight his future possessor. This being chosen is
acknowledged most strikingly in the search for a shaman by the
792 monasteries. Even though the individual monasteries are anxious
to have a gurtum, no monastery can designate or train one of its
inmates for this purpose, although this would be expected in the
case of tantristic Lamaism. They remain for years without the
coveted shamanistic soothsayer, until one day someone who was
chosen by a deity to be its vessel is found. The calling is a free
gift that is not hereditary. It is known of the monastery Kumbum
that for a long time it was punished by having to do without
a gurtum in whom the oracle-god made himself present.

756 Everything that the gurtum does is done in the power of
his possessor-spirit, like an instrument, and not because of certain
787 actions, gestures, or formulas. The inducing of ecstasy is
not a way of forcing the spirit to come down, but a ceremonial
force transmitted through the calling, which does not rob the
spirit of its freedom. The shaman only receives this power
from his tutelary lord himself, and to be sure under certain
preconditions, such as continence, donning the attire, invitation
prayer. This prayer, as its name indicates, is not a magical
[782] formula, but praise and a request; it does not have any effect
in itself, just as the donning of the equipment alone would not
draw down the deity.

Likewise the taming of the demons in the spirit battle of the trance, the soothsaying, healing, etc. are done through

[239 cont.]

756 the spirit in the shaman; he is actually the warrior, the soothsayer,
[787] the healer. His presence is essential. Therefore the
people also fall down before the gurtum and venerate him like
[782] a god. Finally, even the shaman himself has the duty of venerating
his tutelary spirit; he must burn incense for it, make offerings,
and pray to it. -- This religious character of the gurtum, however,
by no means excludes all magic. His special position
suggests [240] that he also engages in magical practices, but
then not in his character as a shaman but as a human being
whom one especially trusts since he is in communication with
the spirit world; cf. above, p. 330.

Classification

171 Present-day Chinese shamanism in the form of the fashih,
756 wushih, or shihkung, as well as the earlier Wuism, has no direct
connection with the gurtum. The Chinese shamans are female
oriented, directed toward agriculture, and pass down their office
within the kin group; they have the dance and the drum, the
trance has become vestigial, and the rites are overlaid with
Taoistic elements. None of this applies to the gurtum. He is
the type of the manly warrior, knows no drum but weapons, and
no dance but battle. He cannot pass down his office, but receives
it through individual calling. A certain enmity between
him and the fashih has already been indicated.

The present-day Siberian shaman likewise has a different
appearance. He, too, knows the drum and for the most part
practices a kind of dance. The shaman costume is not the uniform
type like that of the gurtum and is hung with all kinds of
things, iron, feathers, figures, etc. In ecstasy he imitates the
[787] ascent to heaven or the journey of the soul which I could not
find in the case of the gurtum, even though Lessing (Mongolen,
p. 148) indicates such. Furthermore, there exists between this
type of shaman, who in Mongolic is called bö (böge) and in
Tujen bō, and the gurtum a conscious contrast which Lessing,

[240 cont.]
171 loc. cit., also emphasizes. W. Heissig, too, has encountered
756 the difference between these two groups among the East Mongols;
cf. Heissig, "Shamanen," p. 40. There the gurtum are also
called "Lajing." Exactly like the Tujen, the Chinese, too,
differentiate between the bō (fashih) and the gurtum (fa-la-tzu
or ku-erh-tien).

Beyond doubt, therefore, the gurtum in his present form
[779] is affiliated with Lamaism. First of all his area of distribution
coincides with that of Lamaism. One finds the gurtum in Tibet,
Amdo, and Mongolia. To designate him as specifically Mongolic,
as is done occasionally in the expression "the Mongolic gurtum,"
is misleading. To be sure he was described predominantly by
travelers in the Mongolic region, but detailed studies concerning
him were hitherto lacking. There is no original Mongolic
name for the gurtum, and the general term bō (böge, bügü)
for shaman is not applicable to him. All names are Tibetan.

756 But what position does the gurtum occupy in Lamaism?
776 His main task seems to be exhausted in the representation of
the tutelary gods who constitute a special conceptual realm.
779 The three aspects that are included under the word sku have
174 already been indicated "gurtum." The Lamaistic tutelary
deities also bear the collective name "the five bodies," along
with the other name, "the five kings" (Mongolic: tabun xaġan)
or "the protectors of the [241] doctrine" (Tibetan: c'os skyoṅ).
R. Bleichsteiner in his article "Srog-bdag, the lord of life"
(Archiv für Völkerkunde, Vienna, V, 1950, pp. 104-138) has
indicated the relationships between the three aspects, the
directions and world-guardians, who to be sure correspond to
the five tutelary lords. Evidently elements of various origins
have been combined here in the speculative melting pot of
Buddhism through the popular paralleling of microcosm and
macrocosm. The presence of these figures and the cultic
utilization are accomplished through the gurtum or, as he is
also called as presenter of the tutelary deities, the sruṅ-ba
(ma). In the case of the people's gurtum this relationship
likewise makes itself apparent through the use of the wu-tao-shen
cut in paper in various colors, which were mentioned
earlier. It seems, however, that this relationship is more

174 [241 cont.]
756 external and applies to the actual temple-gurtum, whereas the
779 people's gurtum is more strongly connected with the mountain-
[776] spirit and obo.

The foreign character of the gurtum in Lamaism. -- Even though the present-day figure of the gurtum, as was just stressed, belongs to Lamaism according to his appearance, his name, and his conceptual realm, this affiliation is not as close as it might seem.

In the first place the shamanistic basis of the gurtum points away from Lamaism. To be sure, tantristic Lamaism has its special presuppositions for the vivifying and presenting of deities; in this connection cf. Glasenapp, in ZDMG, 90, 1936, p. 552 (cited from Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 206), and H. Findeisen, *Eine Erscheinung Yamantakas* [An Appearance of Yamantaka], pp. 2 f. The ensouling of the gods' idols also lies in this direction. These presuppositions, however, are not decisive for the shaman-nature of the gurtum. The religious character of the gurtum shuns these magically colored rites. His calling and his power are independent of Lamaism. The shaman is a layman. The same is confirmed by W. Heissig (*op. cit.*, p. 40): "The Layičing, however, belongs to no spiritual community,but is a layman." Only when he has become a shaman does he receive his confirmation in the monastery and Lamaistic instruction. The customs described in the first part concerning the gurtum and the helplessness of the monasteries in the search for a temple-shaman illuminate this
[792] fact sufficiently. This naturally does not exclude the possibility
that in individual cases a shaman's calling may fall to a lama. This is not the rule, however, as the great number of people's gurtums outside the monastery proves, at least in the Koko Nor region.

174 Furthermore, the tutelary gods represented in the
gurtum do not seem to be at home in Lamaism; in the case of
756 the people's gurtum with his link to the popular mountain-spirit,
776 this is to be expected from the outset, but it is no less true for
779 the *c'os-skyoṅ*, for where is the boundary line between the

174 [241 cont.]
original and the borrowed to be drawn in Lamaism? Bleichsteiner
752 (*op. cit.*, p. 111) writes: "The relationships of *Pekar* and the
776 five kings generally are so manifold and complicated that an
779 unravelling seems to be enormously difficult." This one fact,
however, is probably firmly established: two of these kings,
Pekar and *dGra-lha*, come from the pre-Buddhist realm.

[242] Even the name *Pekar*, of the possessor-spirit of that famous state-oracle of *gNas-c'uṅ*, in its many forms has no satisfactory Lamaistic explanation. Although Tucci may have recently confirmed the view of Grünwedel, who in agreement with Schiefner derives the name *dPe-kar* from the Sanskrit word *vihārā* (= monastery), this explanation nonetheless gives too much the impression of an "ad hoc" one, because *Pekar* is just moved up as monastery protector. Bleichsteiner, unconvinced by this interpretation, increases the explanations of the name by one new one and derives the word *Pekar* from the Iranian; cf. A. Grünwedel, *Mythologie*, p. 182, Note 2; R. Bleichsteiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 107 and 111 f.

Even more decisively than the name *Pekar*, Bleichsteiner designates the figure of *Pekar* as foreign: "With the exception of the legend ..., according to which the great magician *Padmasambhava* is supposed to have brought the demon *Pehar* or *Pekar* from the Indian monastery Odantapuri to the monastery founded by him, bSam-yas, as guardian and treasure protector, the sources concerning his origin from East Turkistan are fairly well in agreement." By way of confirmation he further cites Tucci: "The last-named investigator regards *Pekar* as a foreign tribal god that was later introduced into Tibet and converted to Buddhism by *Padmasambhava*." Bleichsteiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 110, 111; cf. also H. Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 163.

Just as *Pekar* is the most important representative of the five world-guardians, or of the five *c'os-skyoṅ*, so *dGra-lha* is the main figure among the five personal tutelary spirits, who with *Srog-bdag* also has been moved up among the cosmic world-guardians. Here, too, the co-ordination of microcosm and macrocosm and their mutual interpenetration are to be emphasized. *dGra-lha*, who like *Pekar* appears as warrior, belongs

[242 cont.]
174 in the pre-Buddhist Bon layer. There can be no doubt about this
756 after the expositions of Bleichsteiner, who bases himself on
Hoffman; cf. Bleichsteiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 and 118 f.;
776 Hoffmann, *Quellen*, pp. 171 f. Here let it be noted that among
779 the Tsinghai Chinese these personal tutelary spirits are found in
a Buddhist transformation, and to be sure in the so-called
"golden lamps" which every man carries unseen on his body, and
two of them on his shoulders.

It is unnecessary here to discuss the other figures of the five kings, since at this point no clarity concerning them can be obtained. The world-picture to which they belong, in spite of all the Buddhistic features, has such a broad base that it extends from Central Asia to India and into the ancient Orient, for even the world-mountain conception and the world-directions arrangement with corresponding guardians does not come from Buddhism in the final analysis, even though -- taken over and reinterpreted by it -- it may have been brought as on a "vessel" over extensive parts of the Orient.

The mountain-spirit, the principal tutelary spirit of the people's gurtum, is so evidently pre-Buddhist that it need not be discussed further here. It will be referred to again in the description of the weather forts in Tsinghai. Hoffmann (*Quellen*, pp. 159 and 166) has given a report concerning the mountain-spirits, with references to the pertinent literature. He classifies them as pre-Buddhist [243] gods under the type of the *rGyal-po*, to which the *c'os-skyoṅ* also belong. The picture of the mountain-god *Kangchendzõnga* permits one to see a certain similarity with the gurtum (pp. 166-167).

The position of the gurtum within Lamaism thus shows
that he was not there originally. Both his being a shaman as
such and the possessor-spirits represented by him come from
earlier, non-Buddhist layers. Only the adaptation and
174 serviceability for the Buddhist community as its tutelary lord
756 (monastery), the speculative classification under the "aspects,"
the ritual embellishments during the testing and functioning
779 of the gurtum, certain prayers, and finally the assimilation to
the dress of the Buddhist deities are Lamaist, in other words,

[243 cont.]
756 all more or less unimportant elements. The type of the pro-
174 tective warrior, however, goes uniformly through the various
[779] representations. Thus the question of the origin of the gurtum
becomes the question of the origin of the warrior-shaman.

The Origin of the Warrior-shaman

This question cannot be exhaustively dealt with here within the framework of a presentation of the Tujen religion, since it is closely connected with the origin of shamanism in general. The following points are therefore to be regarded merely as sketchy hints for a later investigation.

Warrior-shamans and Bon religion. H. Hoffmann writes in his book (Quellen, p. 194) of the gNas c'uṅ oracle: "He is, therefore, a living relic of the Bon religion in Lamaism, and to be sure of that side of the Bon religion that is extremely close to the shamanism of the Siberian peoples ..." On page 205 he comes back to the same observation after he has set forth in the same chapter the shamanistic elements in the Bon religion. The type of the Bon shaman pictured there, however, does not correspond to the type of the gurtum or warrior-shaman. The clothing is different, and the Bon shaman works with the hoop drum covered on one side (cf. op. cit., p. 201). A kind of kettledrum is also used. On his drum the Bon-pa rides heavenward in ecstasy. Hoffman quite correctly links this type of shaman with the present-day Siberian form of shamanism (pp. 202 f.). Two important elements, the hoop drum
[774] and the flight of the soul, do not appear with the warrior-shaman. To be sure, in the temple, as I was able to observe in Kumbum and Kuomang-szu, large, double-sided drums were likewise beaten as the gurtum was transported into the trance, but only by the assisting lamas, and to be sure they were the drums that are otherwise used at the religious service. The hoop drum, however, of which Hoffman (op. cit., p. 203)
[787] gives an illustration, is not used. In the case of the gurtum the necessary connection between the drum and the ascent to

[243 cont.]

174 heaven is completely lacking. The type of Bon shamanism described here seems rather to have its vestiges among the fashih ●756 [789] in the Chinese Koko Nor region, whose close connection to the Bon religion was already surmised above, especially since these fashih (or bō) [244] are very frequently represented precisely in the region of Kuei-tê on the same river where today the Bon religion is still fairly strong. -- It is not to be disputed in any way that the type of the gNas-c'uń oracle is a survival from the Bon religion. However, just as the Bon religion generally is not a homogeneous structure, so the shamanism contained in it would also not have been of a uniform type. And precisely if the gNas-c'uń oracle is a survival from the Bon religion, this proves that here, too, as elsewhere, at least two shaman types were present: the Siberian drum-shamans and the warrior-shamans (10). An element that Hoffmann clearly characterizes,

10. The gurtum type of the gNas-c'uń oracle can be linked much better to Gšen-rab itself or to the Dto-mba Shi-lo of the Na-khi, the founder of Bon shamanism. The sign for Dto-mba Shi-lo is Ssu, in other words, the ancestor, tutelary god, and in the final analysis the god of life of the Na-khi family; cf. J.F. Rock, "Dto-mba Shi-lo," p. 45, Note 2. This establishes the connection with the basic figures of the other possessor-spirits of the gurtum, 776] who, to be sure, finally manifest themselves likewise as god of life. -- Furthermore, the Dto-mbas with their swords and demon battles ("sham battles" [cited in English]) resemble the gurtum; cf. J.F. Rock, op. cit., p. 77, Pl. 12.

however, must be considered in the case of the warrior-shaman,

174 756 [244 cont.]
namely, the connections between bird and shaman (p. 199 f.).

756 776 Warrior-shaman and tutelary-spirit heroes. -- In shamanism the tutelary or helping spirits play a decisive role. In the case of the possession-shaman, and therefore also in the case of the warrior-shaman, these spirits are at the same time the possessor-spirits. What is most important about the warrior-figures of the tutelary spirits of the temple-shamans has already been said, when mention was made of the five kings, especially *Pekar* and *dGra-lha*.

171 756 776 The *dGra-lha* of the Tibetans has a counterpart in the good-fortune tutelary lord of the Mongols as he has already been described above in the section on the cult of heaven (p. 359), and to be sure in the figure of the *dsayači* and its extension in the *sülde*. The warlike character of the *sülde tengri* has been described in detail by the Mongol Dordschi Banzarov in his "Černaja vjera ili šamanstvo u Mongolov" (1846). Only a characteristic quotation from the version of Father W. Schmidt (*UdG*, X, p. 79) is to be given here: "The nine *sülde-tengri*, according to their character, are always there in order to protect us. They are represented in a warlike pose as though they were awaiting battle with someone, in the manner of riders, dressed in armor, wearing helmets on their heads, armed with swords and spears, holding a knout in one hand, a flag in the other. They are accompanied by falcons, as well as by a lion, a panther, bears and dogs." Father W. Schmidt notes in connection with this description: "Banzarow, as he states, has taken this presentation from Volume IV of the work by Mergen Diyanči; he wrote the book concerning the offerings presented to these genii." (*UdG*, *loc. cit.*) Concerning the relationship of the *dGra-lha* to the *sülde* or to the Mongolic good-fortune *tengri* and their warlike character, as well as their representation in the banner and on flags (*jusun-sülde*), Lüdtke has given a report, referring to Potanin, Waddel, Grünwedel, and other Russian as well as Mongolic sources; [245] See Lüdtke, "Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans ...," *op. cit.*, pp. 110-115. A supernatural double of the human being, who is conceived as a warlike tutelary lord and who shares and influences the weal and woe

[245 cont.]
171 of his protégé, is involved here; in this connection cf. also
756 Bleichsteiner (or Hoffmann), "Srog-bdag," pp. 118 f. It is not
776 possible to give here all the models and possible archetypes of
these warlike doubles and "alter egos." They are very widely distributed in space and time, as is the belief in tutelary spirits generally, and extend back over the archaic high cultures into still earlier times (Megalithic); cf. Dominik Wölfel, *Die Religionen des vorindogermanischen Europa*. A special development is represented by the *sülde* banner of the Mongolic khans, which also attests to the fact that in the case of these tutelary spirits true localizations and seizure are involved.

174 That these tutelary spirits are connected with ancestors,
756 and in part identical with them, can likewise be amply docu-
776 mented, as it is repeatedly emphasized in the shamanism. One special feature is still to be pointed out: the shamanistic use of armor and weapons. My informant told me that the Tujen
[523] formerly had brought the weapons and equipment of famous popular heroes into the temple where they were stored. Then
[787] when a shaman who had been called put on this equipment, the powers and the spirit of the hero descended upon him. The shift of an old popular custom into Lamaism is evident here, for prior to this the protector and guardian of the *ayil* (tribe) was the mountain-spirit in the obo; he watched over the weapons, and in former times arms were also buried in the obo; cf. above, pp. 351 f., and the chapter on the obo, *Anthropos*, 47, 1952, pp. 63 ff. [pp. 114 ff. above in the HRAF translation]. Just as the popular festivals were later transferred from the obo to the Lamaistic temple, this also happened with the weapons and equipment and the associated donning of them by the shaman. This also explains the especially close connection of the people's gurtum with the mountain-spirit and obo and his warlike character still today. It is well-known that the obo has a special connection with the tribal lord and the latter's descendants. Like-
[773] wise it is told of Geser, who, to be sure, according to the Tujen version, was also the ancestor of the Tujen, how he donned the supernatural armor which is kept in readiness for the special task of the battle against the ills of mankind in heaven.

[245 cont.]

171 Heissig reports similarly of the East Mongols: "In the
756 monasteries, according to tradition, weapons, helmet, and
776 war harnesses of famous, perhaps legendary Mongolic heroes are
preserved... These heroes and their arms bear the name Coyjing (lit. *coyijung*). Once or twice every month, after previous praying and fasting, a number of lama-monks in the Küriye-Banner are supposed to clothe themselves with the armor of the Coyijing and seize the weapons belonging to them. The spirits and powers of the heroes immediately come over their bearers and equipment. The lamas go into ecstasy..."; cf. Heissig, "Shamanen," *op. cit.*, p. 41. Coyjing, of course, refers to the Tibetan *co's-skyoṅ*. Here, too, however, the old conception
[523] continues to have its effect of preserving the powers of the old
heroes for the succeeding generations by preserving the equipment and weapons.

756 [246] One could call this custom a shamanistic preserva-
tion of antiquities. At any rate, every visitor of Lamaistic
523 temples and shrines is struck by the ample store of weapons, banners, etc. Perhaps the Tujen custom of presenting the clothing of the deceased to the monastery also goes back to this conception, even though today they are merely thought of as a *bosë*, a prayer fee. When a monastery lacks a shaman who can don the armor, an artificial figure is dressed in it. I once saw such a statue equipped with ancient weapons and exhibited in a sitting position in the gate of the soothsayer-temple at dGon-luṅ, just as the gurtum at the beginning of his trance is seated in the temple facing the image of his tutelary spirit. The people moved past this image and gave it the appropriate veneration. This figure is likewise called *sgurdien*.

171 The warrior-shaman is widespread, and was even in pre-
Lamaistic times. B. Laufer presents clear evidence for its
756 presence in ancient China in his book, *Chinese Clay Figures*. He presents several illustrations of excavated statuettes and dates these back to the Chou period, to an "archaic period" [cited in English]); cf. the legend for Plate XVII. Laufer describes these figures expressly as shamans "in the act of throwing a spear during a struggle with demons" [cited in English]. On

[246 cont.]
171 page 277, he goes into greater detail regarding the interpretation
•756 of these figures: "In the grim faces ... the demoniacal power
of these armored knights ... is well represented. The helmet-
mask is formed by a bird's head with a strong flavor of the Indian
Garuda ... a shawl is elegantly draped around the shoulders, and
tied in a knot over the chest, the two iron breastplates being
visible beneath it" [cited in English]. -- In other words, the
same type of warrior as in the case of the gurtum is involved:
with helmet, weapons, shoulder hanging, demon battle, etc. --
Certainly further evidence for ancient China could be cited, say,
in conjunction with the recent publications of C. Hentze. --
Likewise such types may be demonstrable for India, Indonesia,
and the ancient Near East in connection with the ancient Iranian
warrior gods and the corresponding figures in Hinduism, Indra,
Shiva, etc.; in this connection cf. R. Bleichstein (based on
Grünwedel), *op. cit.*, pp. 111-124.

174 Warrior shaman and bird. -- The connections between
756 bird and shamanism are stressed often enough in the literature.
The bird type of shaman is one of the basic types. Usually,
825 the original ancestor of the shaman, or the first shaman, is a
bird or incarnated in a bird. The heroes of the folktales, how-
[773] ever, are also often linked with a bird ancestor. For instance,
the Geser of the Tujen is supposed to have been sent to earth
as a cuckoo. If this relationship applies generally, then the
warrior-shaman in particular can be linked with the bird figure.
There has been an attempt to show that his armor goes back to
the feather armor, in other words, to the shaman attire of the
bird type. I cannot go further into the sources here. The
feather helmet of the ancient Chinese shaman mentioned by
B. Laufer and the feather-ornamented helmet of the *gNas-c'uṅ*
gurtum, as well as the report by Georgi in his "Alphabetum
Tibetanum," point in this direction.

[247] This connection between warrior and bird only
174 becomes meaningful if one understands it as a solarization of
756 the ancestor hero. Both the mythologies of the most ancient
Chinese excavations (cf. the works by C. Hentze) and the

[247 cont.]

174 ● 752 Indic -- Ancient-Oriental conceptions show the bird (the Indian Garuda) as a symbol of light in contrast to darkness which is popularly conceived as a snake (Garuda -- snake). The winged sun is a well-known phenomenon in Chinese antiquity, in the archaic cultures of the Near East, and in the religion of the Central American high cultures, as is the equating of sun bird and king or hero in Egypt. This motif of light battling against darkness, of the bird of light against the snake of darkness, is also so widespread in America that recently Paul Radin has set it up as a fundamental life-interpretation of the peoples; cf. Radin, "The Basic Myth of the American Indians," Eranos, 1949.

The warrior-shaman in the final analysis is none other than the mythical first bird that stands in a special relationship with the human ancestors and battles the forces of darkness, the evil in the world. He is thus drawn into the very ancient mythology of mankind and the very ancient experience of the battle between light and darkness as it has been formulated, say, by Von Ow for the life-interpretation of the Avesta: "The Eranic religion penetrated deeply into private life. According to the Avesta, the principal task was: to battle against the forces of darkness. This idea is supposedly symbolized by the clothing of the Eranian, which is regarded as armor" (Ow, Hom, pp. 142 f.).

The bird symbolism of shamanism is ambiguous. In Siberian shamanism the characteristic of flight comes more to the fore, in gurtum-shamanism more the characteristic of light. Finally, it is common to both that the shaman is defender of life. Light is life and stands in contrast to darkness and death. Therefore the shaman as representative of light and of life is necessarily also fighter and warrior.

c) Summary

174 756 779 Thus the circle closes around the Lamaistic gurtum. The Lamaistic gurtum arose from two components, one pre-Lamaistic and one Lamaistic. The pre-Lamaistic component is the warrior-shaman. This in turn has two components; a special one, the development of the outward appearance from the fighting light-bird; and a general

[247 cont.]

174 one, the shaman as representative of the god of life (character-
•756 ized by the tree of life, etc.).

Among the people Buddhism found in the warrior-shaman
779 a type which could be "converted" especially easily. It connected the tutelary figures of its religion with this popular shaman. It had been especially prepared for this type of possession-shamanism through the tantrist-magical realizations so that it could easily absorb it. What then remained of other shaman types was branded and fought as *xara nom*, black belief, by the new "orthodox" shamanism with the spread of Lamaism. This [248] opposition, dealt with much in the literature, is aptly characterized by Lessing in a conversation with his teacher: "... 'Then is a gurtum not a shaman?' I asked him. 'By no means, something much higher. What he invokes, those are the authentic spirits, not the unclean ones of the *Bö* (written in Mong. *böge*, shaman)' ..." (Lessing, *Mongolen*, p. 143).

d) Idol-shamanism

756 In what follows the justification for speaking of idol-
791 shamanism as a special matter will automatically appear. One
[778] could also call it simply "thing-shamanism," because a thing
represents the person as shaman. Among the shamanistic idols the spirit-spear of the Tujen occupies a favored position.

The Spirit-spear

The relationship of soothsayer and spear. -- Here the difference in the shamanizing of a gurtum and that of a spear-soothsayer should be recalled (cf. the appropriate chapters in the first part, *Anthropos*, 47, 1952, pp. 18-33 [pp. 21-50 above in the HRAF translation]. Whereas the gurtum is completely
[787] possessed and in this state psychically closes himself off from the
outside world, the spear-soothsayer remains in control of himself and awake. He does not go into ecstasy; only the spear is possessed by the spirit and affects the soothsayer. The soothsayer,

[248 cont.]

756 it is true, must have the special ability to "activate" the spear
791 and to interpret its movements in order to learn what the spirit
in the spear wants, but he himself is not inwardly filled by it.

756 On the other hand, the relationship between spirit and
spear is much closer. It is the seat of the spirit and is treated
791 as such. Like a shaman it receives a consecration, is clothed
778 with an "official garb": with bands, little bells, and mirrors.
The people venerate it like a god that is present. In order to enter actively into a relationship with the world of men through soothsaying, healing, and exorcising evil, or in order to have an active effect on the outside world, this spear-idol needs a middleman who takes it in his hand and to whom it "speaks." This is the "idol-holder," the *sdiendzēn*, *rten* ʼ*dsin*. He is not called a shaman, for it is not he, the soothsayer, but the possessed spear that is actually the shaman. The soothsayer is, as it were, merely a living extension of the idol, its loudspeaker.

778 How is the spear to be classified? As the spear is now used, it is to be regarded as a special kind of idol, as its name as spirit seat already suggests. The Tibetan compound *rten-mduṅ* is not found in Ch. Das. However, analogous to the name *sku-rten* (gurtum) and corresponding to the character of the spear, the *rten* can here mean nothing other than container or visible representation of the deity: a weapon as seat of the deity. This suggests the question: Was the spirit-spear independent from the outset, or is it merely the tool of a shaman?

171 The spirit-spear as independent idol, in other words,
778 not as equipment of the shaman, is distributed throughout the
Tujen and agricultural region of eastern Amdo. [249] One
finds it frequently in temples and in family chapels, even
among the Chinese. To what extent the Tangut nomads there
possess it is beyond my knowledge. The spear must have had an
[174] independent significance in Lamaism even in early times,
however, for one frequently encounters it in Lamic monasteries,
and usually in conjunction with other standards (banners). The
Geography of the Minchu-Hutukhtu is able to report: "In

[251 cont.]

171 778 conceptual cycle from China either; there, too, to be sure, there is a determining constellation called a 'standard,' not on the pole, however, but rather on the ecliptic" (op. cit., p. 117). At any rate, the astral spear or the standard is not merely the property of the Mongols (12). Here the similarity with the cosmically conceived arrow of good fortune that was dealt with earlier should also be pointed out; see above, p. 321. -- After these references, which refer more or less to the spear alone, its significance in shamanism is easier to understand.

756 778 Spirit-spear and shaman. -- The spirit-spear stands in a two-fold relationship with the shaman, once as world-tree and as weapon, and then as something independent and representative of the shaman.

171 756 778 In the case of Siberian shamanism, for which the symbolism of the journey to heaven is so important, the shaman climbs up on the ladder, the tree, the pole, the bridge, etc. into the world beyond. In the rite, therefore, the most varied representations of this earth-heaven connection appear. What, then, is more obvious than that the spear with its symbolism as world-tree or peak of the world-mountain should be drawn into it? Unfortunately, the evidence for a ritual use of the spear as heaven-ladder (bridge, bow) among the Central Asiatic peoples seems to be difficult to obtain. It must be all the more surprising that among the remote Australians the spear fulfills this function. M. Eliade cites Pettazzoni in this connection and says in his excellent work, Le Chamanisme, pp. 426 f.: "The bow being unknown in Australia, its place in the myth is taken by a lance which bears a long piece of material; the

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12. The military flag cult of the Chinese in its well-known form is too recent to permit any ancient mythological conclusions; cf., for instance, Doolittle, Social Life, pp. 287 f.

[251 cont.]

756 lance having been implanted in the celestial vault, the hero
778 climbs all the way up with the help of the pennant" [translated
[171] from French].

However frequently the spirit-spear is used independently of a true shaman among the Tujen, it nonetheless is frequently enough part of the equipment of the gurtum. In his hand it is an important weapon. Just as the weapons and the armor of the ancient hero-ancestors endow him with special powers, so doubtless also does the ancestor spear. In the already-cited Geser
[773] legend of the Tujen, Geser takes the heavenly weapons for himself, which are all provided with the adjective sdier, for instance, sdier lēmu, sdier sēmu, etc., sacred arrow and bow. The things designated with sdier, however, are all adorned in a manner similar to the spirit-spear, above all with the colorful bands. This is supposed to express a consecration, a sacral
174 character. -- Now, however, when there is no true shaman, nothing remains but to make the spirit-spear independent.

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It must represent the shaman and accordingly receives a perfected outfit and an additional consecration, whereby, as original weapon, it becomes an independent idol. It becomes tutelary-spirit possessed. As seat of the sülde it is from the outset already especially fitted for this. Since, however, it is not alive and cannot appear as a human being, [252] a man is appointed for it, the soothsayer. The latter takes over part of the operations of a true shaman, but without becoming the seat of a spirit himself. There takes place, as it were, a distribution of shamanistic functions: the essential, inner ones are peculiar to the spear; the unessential, outer ones to the soothsayer (13).

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13. The shaman attire in other regions also has great similarity with the spear as spirit seat and effective unity with the shaman. It is "saturated" by spirits, who give signs of life by trembling, moving, etc.; cf. Eliade (Shirokogorov), Le Chamanisme, p. 143. Even though the spear as shaman equipment shares this property with the attire, this alone

[252 cont.]

756 still cannot explain its great signifi-
778 cance and use.

The Other Idols

778 Just as the spirit-spear is the seat of a deity which is
791 activated by a middleman, so also is a series of other idols.
These may be: the table, the spirit-litter, weather club, carriage axles, noodle roller, etc. Of these the spirit-table and the god-litter are the most important.

The spirit-table bears its name unjustly, for it is not a
[776] table, but the representation of an animal deity, the black
tiger. This is confirmed by the fact that it is consecrated at the consecration of this tiger and is regarded as possessed by the latter. Furthermore, the intestines of the tiger are attached under the top, which, however, are not visible to the eye.

[787] The soothsaying with the table is done exactly as with
the spear, except that it is held by two persons.

This deity, according to all the statements, is peculiar
to the Chinese shamans. That it was originally foreign to the
[776] Tujen is proved precisely by the superficial name given it, sirie
purĝan (table-deity), where in reality the top forms the back, the table legs are the tiger's legs, and the underside bears the intestines.

The spirit-litter has no Tujen name at all, but is simply
called, as in Chinese, chiao-tzu or niang-niang chiao-tzu (litter
of the mother). The litter is not the main thing, but the god's
[532] figure sitting in it, which is executed as realistically as possible,
with magnificent clothes, real hair, and flesh-colored face. The interior likewise contains the intestines, the heart, and the maternal organs. The figure is consecrated with the litter, at which time the inner organs are put inside.

This goddess likewise belongs to the Chinese shamans (fashih), who also undertake its animation. Frequently,

[252 cont.]
778 however, the lamas in the monastery do this. For soothsaying
791 the litter is taken up on the shoulders of four men, who then
[787] involuntarily follow the movements of the deity.

Summary

●756 Both idol-shamanism and gurtum-shamanism form a unity
787 in their appearance. They have in common: the clothing
(= beribboning), the metal disks, the little bells or rattles, and
791 possession by a spirit. They both belong in the conceptual
realm of the connection [253] between heaven and earth and of the world- or shaman-tree that is hung with bells and mirrors; in this connection cf. the myths of the Golden or the songs of the Tujen, which tell about a tree that bears the sun, moon, and stars in its top. In the case of the human shaman all functions are united in one bearer, whereas in idol-shamanism these functions are divided between man and thing, but this division in turn constitutes a unity in the activities. There arises here the fundamental question: Is not the entire idol cult to be understood ultimately from this shamanistic standpoint? Does it not gain its real significance only through the living person? Certainly a great deal of what has hitherto been designated as "fetishism" or "idol cult" is at bottom merely a variant of shamanism, a static permanent form of that which the shaman represents for only a short period of time with great psychic upheaval: a direct link with the spirit world, culturally regularized, and ritually developed; making present and vivifying deities and demons that the human being wants to have with him.

Here it should be once more emphasized that these ideas are merely a sketch for a theory whose detailed presentation does not belong here.

3. The Bon Religion

791
779 Among the Bon there are three groups: the shepherd-
Bon, the farmer-Bon, and the monastery-Bon. This division

[257 cont.]
792 went there. Pander speaks (op. cit., p. 204) of Man-tzu or
Chinese from Sining, who were accommodated in 13 temples
in Peking (1889). These Man-tzu (= barbarians), however,
could only have been Tujen, for the Chinese are not Lamaists,
and the Tibetans (Fan-tzu) are specifically named by Pander.
The monastery Sung-chu-szu is regarded expressly as a Tujen
lamasery. Even today (at least up until 1948) almost all its
monks come from the Sining region and are Tujen, as the
monks from this monastery related during a visit home. To be
sure the number has shrunk greatly.

771 These are all facts that must be taken into account in
judging the Lamaism of the Tujen. The people are proud of
792 their famous monastery. It is their pilgrimage center. Young
[788] and old gather there at the festivals. They hold horse races
[527] and sing their old popular airs there. At the temple festivals
with the magnificent dances the Lamist doctrine is deepened
[796] and clarified. In the venerable halls filled with incense they
see their gods in magnificent statues, painted on silk, on walls
[778] and altars. There lie also the heavy sacred books of the Kandjur
and Tandjur, which they bear on their backs around the
sanctuary in order to free themselves from affliction or to fulfill a vow. In the temples and yards they watch the monks
hold learned disputations, read the scriptures, recite the prayers.
They invite them to undertake solemn religious services in their
compounds, to give their children their names, to consecrate
the old, [258] to bless the young, to pray for the dead, to cre-
[574] mate the corpses. The lama is a frequent and welcome guest
in the family. Generally, the people seem to link themselves
[756] to the monastic life at the important stages of life. Even the
shaman receives his consecration in the monastery. Every
[778] family was proud if one of its sons became a lama; indeed, it
was even an unwritten law.

771 So it was, at least until the most recent times. Today,
however, the young people no longer want to know anything
792 about becoming a lama. They prefer to attend the Chinese
177 schools and are intent on the new education. They despise
the old and do not take it seriously anymore. What the

twist their rosaries on their wrists, even in the city, or 781
to turn a small prayer wheel all day. While no one 788
understands the meaning of the prayer formula, the
Monguor saying his Om Mani intends it as adoration
to Buddha.

Religion is a family as well as an individual matter. 794
The chief of the family is its religious head and its rep- 782
resentative. He worships "Heaven and all the spirits"
on the roof of the home or in its courtyard. It is his
duty to honor the protector-deity of the family. Each
family honors the image of its family protector-deity.
At the time of the division of a family inheritance, it is
the privilege and duty of the eldest son to continue wor-
shipping the old family deity honored by his ancestors.
The chief of the family is its representative at the per-
formance of public rites. Attended by his family, he
performs the rite of opening the fields in the spring to
start farming; he gives orders for the worship of the
various kind of spirits honored by the family—"the
spirit of the hearth," "the spirit of the stables," etc.—
and sets the example by praying the Om Mani and fin-
gering his prayer beads.

The compulsory social aspect of the religious life of 794
the Monguors is evidenced by the fact that the chief of 622
the village and its elders administer both the official and
religious life of the people in it. Even as they appor-
tion land taxes among the villagers, according to wealth [65]
and productivity, so do they assess families a fixed sum
for religious services. They impose corvées on the
villagers for municipal functions as well as for such
religious functions as protection against hailstorms or
the sacred animal of the village. In the same manner,
heads of families are summoned to participate in rites
at the temple or on the top of the sacred mountain.
The time of religious rites is fixed by the village chief.
He performs the community thanksgiving rite just as
the family chief does in his own circle.

The village chief is not the only organizer of religious [64]
life in the village. The chief of the clan is its promoter.
It is he who offers sacrifice at the clan's ancestor rite.
On his triennial visit, the clan chief brings the image
of the protector-deity of the clan, so that each village
may fulfill its duty of honoring it. He makes inquiry
about public worship in the village and the morality of
his subjects.

Religious activities are part of the family and social
life of the Monguor society. Their social organization
is woven into a religious environment. The chiefs of
families, villages, and clans are its promoters. All
clansmen are obliged to participate in the public rites.

The intensiveness of the religious life of the Mon- 771
guors is further demonstrated by the fact that they are 754
not only known as practicing Lamaists, but also as fer- 756
vent adherents of shamanism, and practicers of many
rites which do not seem to belong to either Lamaism
or shamanism, being performed by neither lamas nor

771
shamans, but by the family, village, or clan chief. Owing 754
to the enrollment of Chinese into the Monguor 782
clans, it is not unusual to encounter Taoist priests performing
rites in some villages, or to hear some wealthy [795
Sinicized Monguors, chiefs of clans, or an occasional 793]
scholar proficient in Chinese literature, openly claiming
to profess Confucianism. We do not consider them
Confucianists since they also practice Lamaist and shamanist
rites, and because Confucianism is not a religion.

POSITION OF LAMAISM

What is the respective standing of Lamaism and shamanism? 779
Lamaism occupies the privileged position, 792
and has been an overwhelming influence in the country of the Monguors. In nearly every valley, throughout the country, there is a monastery. As many as three hundred lamas live in some of the monasteries; in others thirty, fifty, or one hundred, and in Kumbum two thousand. The monasteries are the only imposing buildings in the country. They are the bankers, money lenders, owners of flour mills, and big sellers of grain and cattle. They command prestige among the Chinese officials because of the protection bestowed upon them by the Central Government of Peking. The moral influence they exert upon the people is unusual.

Nearly every Monguor family has one of its members, 602
a son or an uncle, enrolled in the lamaseries. 792
Thus, ties of kinship bind the people to the religious 614
institution. The chiefs of the clans are the real supporters 175
of Lamaism, though some of them claim to be
Confucianists. The Lu T'u-ssu built three lamaseries
in his territory and granted large property rights to
them; the Ch'i T'u-ssu granted territories to the lamaseries
of Erh-ku-lung and Ta-yin-ssu. The Li T'u-ssu
built the once outstanding lamasery of Ta-fo-ssu in the
center of the city of Hsining. The protector-deity of
each clan is a deity of Lamaism. In the mansion of
some T'u-ssu one or two lamas are on duty throughout
the year, worshipping the protector-deity of the clan. [778]
The T'u-ssu are the benefactors of the lamaseries at the time of the religious festivals. It is no wonder the people follow the example set by their chief and adopt his religion. The large-scale spread of Lamaism throughout Mongolia can be attributed to the example set by the chiefs of clans—such outstanding leaders as the Chang-chia, Sum-pa, Mei-chu-erh, and T'u-kuan Hutukhtus, and many less celebrated Living Buddhas, reincarnated in the Monguor country, which seems to be the "Land of the Lamas."

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO SUPERSEDE SHAMANISM COMPLETELY

829
Notwithstanding the conditions favoring Lamaism, 771
the Monguors are fervent adherents of shamanism, and occasionally of Taoism. The explanation of this anomaly is to be found in the fact that Monguors do not

[P 6(B)]

vent shamanists, and provides a reason why Lamaism 771 never succeeded in uprooting shamanism, notwithstanding its overwhelming influence for centuries. Another important factor, without doubt, is in the very nature of the debased Lamaism. Lamas of the Red Sect, who [795] were the first to come into the country, indulged in nearly all the same magical practices as the old shamans, including bloody sacrifices, except that they performed them in such a way that the people, not interested in philosophical and doctrinal discussions but in having religious men who could avert all kinds of calamities in the most efficient way, jumped to the obvious conclusion that the basic difference existing between shamanism and Lamaism was only a question of more or less proficiency in magical art. Lamaism became a kind of supplementary devotion, stimulating the heart to natural kindness and religiosity, but harmonizing perfectly with all kinds of magical practices, regardless of the performer.

POSITION OF SHAMANISM

The place shamanism occupies in the religious life of 771 the Monguors, and its persistence over centuries under 756 the most unfavorable conditions, seems to be an enigma. The lamas, who outnumber the shamans perhaps a hundred to one, are members of a wealthy institution. The few shamans are mostly poor people who derive a precarious existence from the farming of some fields and the fulfilling of their office. Lamas have temples that glisten with gilt; the shamans have none of their own. Lamas are more or less cultured men; most of the shamans are unable to read. The lama institution enjoys [648] a high prestige among the Chinese officials, and controls nearly all the levers of power in the country; the poor shaman, living in the village with his family, always at the beck and call of the villagers, is an unknown and powerless entity in the official world. But, in spite of these unfavorable conditions, the shaman remains a figure of importance with his own kind of prestige, in the religious life of the Monguors.

For those who are cognizant of the power of the impact of wealth and decorum upon the societies of the Orient, this fact seems hard to understand. Its explanation is to be found in the general belief that the shamans are mightier than the lamas because they are more proficient in magical art, and in the subduing of evil spirits. People steeped in superstition, beset on every side by malignant spirits, confronted by diseases, misfortunes, and evils, have easy recourse to the men they believe might best help them, and whom they believe best master the technique of undoing the harm wrought by uncontrollable forces, namely, the shamans. This belief in the magical superiority of the shaman is so deep-rooted because lamas, and even Living Buddhas, when squeezed to the wall, unable to cope with uncontrollable forces and events, resort occasionally to their last shred of hope, the shaman.

[p.7(8)]

Confidence in the power of the shaman is so strong 771
among the Monguors and over the whole country, that 756
even Sinicized Mongours and neighboring Chinese from outside the clans never fail to invite the shaman to their homes, even though they have long since abandoned the lamas. Before Buddhism and Lamaism were diffused in central Asia and Tibet, these countries were entirely shamanist. There is much evidence today to show that shamanism still occupies a prominent place in the religious life of these peoples. Mme David-Neel assumes that in spite of the fact that the Tibetans are considered to be Lamaists, most of them, except the learned lamas, are shamanists.[4]

II. INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM AND LAMAISM IN HSINING (HUANG-CHUNG)

NO HISTORICAL DATA BEFORE 1227 IN THE ANNALS OF HSINING

OLD OCCUPANTS OF HUANG-CHUNG WERE NOT BUDDHISTS

The *Annals* of Hsining do not record a single fact 175
concerning either the time or the way Buddhism first 771
was introduced in what is now the Hsining region. 792
Dealing with the temples and monasteries built in the country, the author of the *Annals*, in concluding ch. 15, p. 13*a* incidentally notes: ". . . the country of Huangchung [Hsining], being properly the region of the Hsiao Yüeh-chih [Indo European Scythians], which had been lost several times at the hands of the Tibetans and the barbarians, it is no wonder that [there] Buddhists are numerous and Taoists are few in number." The author seems to suppose that these Scythians and Tibetans were Buddhist at that early time, but in ch. 30, pp. 1–12 (the only pages concerned with these early Scythians and Tibetans), he does not record any fact concerning Buddhism in regard to either these Scythians or these Tibetans.

No evidence can be offered concerning these Scy- 175
thians to support the assertion of the profession of Bud- 771
dhism by that "small branch of Hsining Hsiao Yüeh-chih."[1] However, the main branch of the Yüeh-chih

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[4] Alexandra David-Neel, *Au Pays des brigands gentilshommes* 101, Paris, Plon, 1933.

[1] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30. According to the *Annals*, the Hsiung-nu Khan, Mao Tun, having killed the king of the Scythians (202–201 B.C.), a small and feeble branch among them settled in the mountains and mixed with the Tibetans (p. 1*b*). They submitted to the Chinese General Ho Ch'ü-ping (121–119 B.C.) and lived among the Chinese (colonists). They lived in seven groups, numbering in all 9000 or more soldiers, spread over the region of Huang-chung to Ling-chü (colony near Kukunor) (p. 2*a*). During the period Hung-Yüan (A.D. 89–105), refusing to revolt with the Tibetan Mi-T'ang tribes, they helped the Chinese General Tung Hsün crush the revolt. Tung-Hsün gave them the title of *I-Ts'ung-Ch'iang*, and *I-Ts'ung-Hu* (loyally following Tibetans and barbarians, re-

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the well bubbles, for providing them with water during 795
the whole year. 789

HERMITS

In the region of Hsining there lived, around 1880- 792
1895, only two hermits. One lived in the region of [342]
Waza in a cave in the mountains, and the other in the mountains around Hsien-mi. Both were strangers, who never divulged their names, or country of origin. They were not attached to any monastery and had no relations with the neighboring people. Each had a donkey which he used when he went to collect some flour and tea, for which they graciously thanked the donors and then returned to their caves. If some gifts were offered to them, they brought them to the monasteries and prostrated themselves before the closed doors of the temples for a whole day, and then returned to their caves without having said a single word to the lamas. The people said that they heard them reciting texts, ringing bells and beating drums the whole day long. Twice a day they built a fire and prepared their meals. They did not visit the people and did not like to have the people visit them; they refused all invitations to say prayers at the homes of the Monguors. During the terrible epizootics which decimated the cattle all over the country (1890–1893), they refused requests to pray for peace in the country. Their mysterious behavior intrigued the people, who could not get in touch with them. Then they disappeared, and nothing more was heard about them. They were not the kind of miracle workers so often described in records of travelers.

Monguors, talking about them, affirmed that in [789]
former times many lamas lived a sheltered life in caves, and possessed the art of working miracles.

In 1723, at the time of the revolt of the lamas and the destruction of the monastery of Seerkok where 2,000 lamas lived, it is said that the General Nien Keng-yao destroyed more than 1,000 caves in that country.[4] Because lamas in former times received the same education as at present, and were as eager for wealth and worldly glory as those of today, one is inclined to doubt such a fantastic number of hermits. I am inclined to think that genuine hermits did not grow on every bush, and that all these wonders and miracles did not occur at every street corner.

VI. SHAMANISM

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is not an investigation of the origin of 756
shamanism or its philosophy and religious fundamentals. Rather it aims to be a description of the type of the Monguor shaman, his training in 1911–1921, the spirits

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[4] Han, Ju-lin, *Pien-cheng kung-lün*, 3 (1) : 47. The text does not say that recluses lived in them.

[p.76(B)]

he honored, and the rites he performed. It will afford 756 an opportunity to study a shamanism influenced by Taoism, honoring Taoist gods, but conserving its original character and living congenially with Taoism. The suppleness of shamanism which, according to the cir- [177] cumstances, adapts itself as well to Lamaism as to Taoism, adopting heterodox doctrines and honoring alien gods,[1] challenges belief. However, it discloses the power of which it disposes, conserving its original rites which betray its origin and basic character. It is interesting to note how rites resist the wear of time better than doctrines.

The facts were all gathered during the ten years I lived among the Monguors, and were checked many times by shamans, chiefs and elders of villages, men and women, and children in the schools, all of whom had attended shamanist rites their whole life long. I at- [123] tended their rites several times. Since I was best acquainted with the rites of the region situated north of the Hsining River, most of the facts concern that region.

The Mongols call the shamans *BŐ*, the Monguors call them *BŌ*, on account of the lack of the vowel Ő in [[illegible]] their dialect. *BŐ* and *BŌ* seem to be a genuine Mongol term. The Chinese of Huang-chung call them *Fa-Shih*, "Master of Magic."

It is not easy to give a definition of shamanism and of shamans who live in a world beset with innumerable good and evil spirits with which the objective of their life is to deal.

The study of shamanism is still very confused, and 756 authors are even unable to find a definition with which 771 they will all agree. W. Schmidt defines the shaman as "a man who is supposed to have the power of making his own person a dwelling place for the spirits, who will speak out of him, but he keeps the power to dominate those spirits and to subdue them to his own will and wishes."[2]

Mircea Eliade, describing the shamanism of Asia, stresses primarily the phenomena of ecstasies and of trance, by means of which the shamans enter in communication with all kinds of spirits—originally with the Supreme Spirit of Heaven, who corresponds morphologically with the Supreme Spirits of the archaic re- [776] ligions—and with the souls of ancestors and the departed. This communication with spirits, residing in the three worlds (heaven, earth, underworld) is symbolized by ascensions to heaven of the shaman or descents into the underworld, the calling down of spirits along the rope or the ladder. The basic element of shamanism consists not of the incorporation of spirits by the shaman but of the ecstasy caused by the ascension or descent.[3]

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[1] Walter Heissig, Schamanen und Geisterbeschwörer im Küriye-Banner, *Folklore Studies*, Catholic University of Peking, 3: 1, 1944. This very interesting study reveals the way shamanism adapted itself to Lamaism.

[2] W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, Freiburg in der Schweiz, Paulus Verlag, 9: 243, 1949.

[p.77(A)]

Åke Ohlmarks considers arctic and subarctic shamanism. The arctic "genuine shamanism" is founded on a psycho-pathologic base, and originated in the arctic regions out of the hysteria peculiar to this region; the subarctic shamanism originated in primeval magic influenced by the arctic shamanism. The shaman, by means of ecstasy, provides communication between the three worlds, connected by means of an axis (tree, post, or rope) along which move spirits and souls, including those of the sacrificed victims.[4]

In the course of this study reference will be made frequently to the Bön religion, because many facts relating to shamanism are encountered also in Bön, and even in Lamaism. A few words regarding Bön seem to be advisable.

According to Helmut Hoffman[5] the meaning of Bön is not known (p. 137). Bon is the old religion of the Tibetans which existed before the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet in the seventh century (p. 135). It is the Tibetan form of a primitive animism that once spread all over Northern and Central Asia, this animism often being thoroughly blended with genuine shamanist principles (p. 208). At present, the systematized Bön religion is a composite. Its original nucleus was the belief in and fear of good and evil spirits (p. 135) and the worship of Heaven considered as a god of the universe, "Weltgott" (p. 156). Around this nucleus was built a façade made up of elements of the debased but more developed Buddhism (Lamaism) (p. 138), in which also animist-shamanist principles played and still play a prominent part (p. 197). Bön, in competing with Lamaism, adopted many of its rites and institutions and composed its literature according to the pattern of Lamaism.

In the primitive Bön, existing before the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet, Heaven was worshipped not only as an impersonal power, but also as a personal God (p. 156). Hence communication between Heaven and earth was secured by means of a rope or ladder, the "way of the spirits" (p. 153), and by means of the post supposed to reach heaven.[6] Bön likes to emphasize the cosmic tree on the mount Meru. In addition the 756 whole series of good and evil spirits were both honored 771 and combatted in the effort to make them inoffensive. Hoffmann concludes that it is hard to trace a sharp dividing line between the old Bön and shamanism.

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[3] Mircea Eliade, *Le chamanisme et les techniques archaiques de l'extase*, 434, 439, Paris, Payot, 1951. See also the interesting review of this book by Dominic Shröder, in *Anthropos* **48** (3-4): 671, 1953.

[4] Åke Ohlmarks, *Studien zum Problem des Shamanismus*, 83, Kopenhagen, Gleerup, 1939. See also Horst Kichner, Ein archäologischer Beitrage zur Urgeschichte des Shamanismus, *Anthropos* **47** (1-2): 244, 1952. **47**: 1952, No. 1-2, 244. David F. Aberle, "Arctic hysteria" and Latah in Mongolia, *Trans. N. Y. Acad. Sci.*, ser. 2, **7**: 291, 1952.

[5] Helmut Hoffmann, Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon Religion, *Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur*, **4**, 1950.

[6] Edward Washburn Hopkins, *The religions of India*, 378, Boston, 1895. In early Hinduism there existed already "a festivity for Indra, extending over two days, and marked by the erection of a pole in honor of the god."

It is instructive to read the review of Helmut Hoffmann by R. A. Stein[7] in order to get an idea of the confusion still persisting regarding the subject. Stein holds that the definition of Bön, said to be the religion of the Tibetans before the introduction of Buddhism, is not easy to write down, because Bön as a religious system is only known in its later state of development when it seems to be a variant of Lamaism. Bön conserves more archaic traits of the old popular religion than Lamaism does, but it does not enjoy a monopoly (p. 98), because the facts relating to Bön are encountered in Lamaism as well as in shamanism. The problem of the Iranian origin of Bön is difficult to solve (p. 99). The fact that the Bön worshipped the spirit of Heaven as a personal Supreme Deity seems to have to be taken with cautiousness (p. 101).

Kawaguchi[8] notes that originally Bönism very much resembled Hinduism, but now in theory it is almost Buddhism. Shorn of its sacrifices, its toleration of marriage and use of intoxicants, it is only Buddhism under another name.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE MONGUOR SHAMANS WITHIN THE CLAN

The social conditions of the shamans are the same as 756 those of the commoners of the clan. They are not 554 exempted from land taxes and corvées, but no special corvées are imposed upon them by the chiefs of the villages. They receive remuneration for the performance of rites in behalf of the community. The shamans enjoy no privileges in the Monguor community as was the rule in the time of Chingis Khan.

The Monguor shamans do not live in monasteries, 756 where they might give spiritual help to the people; they live in various parts of the villages, each with his wife and children. Their economic mainstay is tilling the soil and breeding cattle; their subsidiary occupation is the performance of shamanistic rites either for the community of the village or for private families when invited by them. The margin of subsistence of most of the shamans is rather narrow.

No bonds tie them to the village where they are living; [571] shamans of distant villages are invited by the villagers, and the shamans living in the village are frequently overlooked. Some shamans, celebrated all over the country for their proficiency in the art, are invited more often than others by village communities or private families.

The activities of the shamans are not limited by the boundaries of their clan. They are invited in every 756 clan indiscriminately, and even performed rites among Chinese and Tibetans outside the clans.

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[7] R. A. Stein, *Journal Asiatique*, 1952: 97.

[8] Ekai Kawaguchi (Late rector of Gohyakurakan Monastery), *Three years in Tibet*, 131, Adyar, Madras, Japan, 1909.

[p. 78(A)]

In some villages there are two or more shamans; in others only one, or none at all. The shamans are independent of each other and are not confederated in a guild. They have no chief to whom they are subjected, but all the shamans are enrolled as members of the guild of the Taoist priests of the Chinese city. The chief of that guild orders them to carry out in the city, in collaboration with them, the rites for saving the moon and the sun at the time of an eclipse. The chief of the guild is appointed by the Chinese officials for the [648] patching up of quarrels among the shamans. In the event that a shaman breaks the rules of the guild, a letter from the chief of the guild to the prefect of the city is sufficient to put the shaman in jail. The shamans have to contribute also toward defraying the expenses of the guild. This fact, as has been noted, is really abnormal and infringes upon the rights of the T'u-ssu. It will be explained later.

In comparing the actual social conditions of the shamans among the Monguors with those of the shamans among the Mongols in former times, it is manifest that shamanism has fallen into decay. "The forest clans often had at their head shaman magicians, who were reputed to have intercourse with the spirits. A shaman that was at the same time the leader of the clan or tribe, bore the title of 'Biki,' a title occasionally borne also by members of the steppe aristrocracy."[•] Shamans [651] were, at that time, exempted from taxes and corvées.

It may be that these ancient conditions account for the tradition, prevalent among the Monguors, that in former times each village had its own shaman and only one; that the temple of the village was administered by the shaman and used for the cult of the spirits of the village, by the villagers only. At present the temple is the property of the village and administered by the community, but still only the villagers are allowed to enter their own temple. There is no admittance for strangers.

WHAT IS A SHAMAN ACCORDING TO THE MONGUORS AND ETHNOLOGISTS?

According to the Monguors, the shaman is a man who interposes between men and spirits, either as a

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[•] Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis khan*, 4, London, Routledge, 1930. See also Garma Sandschejew, Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Barjaten, *Anthropos* 23: 981, 1928; also S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organisation of the Manchus*, Royal Asiatic Society North China Branch Extra Vol. 3: 13, 154, Shanghai, 1924. Also the same author, *Psychomental complex of the Tungus*, 344, 346, 347, London, Trubner, 1935. See also the basic difference existing between the shamans among the Monguors and among the Manchus and Tungus concerning relations with and the position of the shamans in the clan. See also Walter Heissig, A Mongolian source for the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *Anthropos* 48: 511, 1953.

[p. 78(B)]

friend of each, in case of good spirits or, as a protector of men in case of evil spirits. He devotes himself, and gives himself up wholly to the service of certain definite spirits which take possession of him, and which he gathers in his drum. They sometimes speak by means of his mouth, help him to call up other spirits which he sees and hears talking in his drum, and with which he is able to speak. The spirits help him to arrange appointments with other spirits, bestowing blessings and boons, and helping him combat evil ones, which play havoc and work damage. According to the Monguors, he is a more powerful man than others, able to save the villagers when their happiness is imperiled and the world in a mess.

Why did the shaman devote himself to the service of his special spirits? In very old times one of his ancestors, according to the shamans, had been singled out and ordered by these special spirits to devote himself to their service. These spirits had ordered him to continue this service, generation after generation, and had promised to shower blessings on him, and to help him in averting troubles from his customers. These spirits taught the initial shaman the method of serving them, of beating drums, of performing rites, and today's shamans have to discipline their behavior according to these instructions. Thus every shaman is a descendant of an initial shaman chosen and compelled to serve certain definite spirits. The initial shaman now being in contact with these spirits still provides his descendant shamans with the means of communication with them, and secures their aid and support for the successful achievement of their duty. This seems to be the specific belief of the shamans themselves, and of the Monguors about the shamans.

According to the ethnologists, "the strongest evidence of the ingenuity of the shaman lies in the fact that the shaman possesses the power to take into himself spirits, which speak by means of his mouth, but which he controls and makes obedient to himself." [10] Ethnologists assert that, physically, shamans suffer from nervous diseases, and are easily excited.[11] They are unbalanced people with a marked disposition to all kinds of illusions and hallucinations.[12] Cases of epilepsy, idiocy, mental breakdown, and insanity have been noted among the shamans.[13] This record is not very flattering or inspiring.

SUCCESSION OF THE SHAMANS

The care and the protection shown by the spirits for their initial shaman and his successors are most effective. They interfere even with the choice of the boy who has to succeed to the incumbency of a shaman, by guiding the father shaman to indicate which among his sons fills the bill of requirements in the most appropriate way. The general belief among the Monguors is that the avocation of a shaman does not depend on the individual or on any other person, but on the spirits, who select the person who is to discharge the duty.

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[10] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 9: 243.

[11] Georg Nioradze, *Der Schamanismus bei den Siberischen Völkern*, 50, Stuttgart, Strecker und Schröder, 1925.

[12] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 977.

[13] Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 3. Eliade, *op. cit.*, 7.

[p.79(A)]

The succession, according to the Monguors, is necessarily inherited by one of the sons of a shaman. This is explained according to the Monguor mentality. It has been noted that, since the worshipping of a spirit once begun by a family should never be discontinued, for fear of calamities which would be sent by the abandoned spirit, the eldest son therefore has to perpetuate its cult. In a more imperative way, when the head of a family has dedicated himself to the cult of a spirit, the duty of a member of the same family to continue this dedication is far more urgent. Since it can never be neglected, one of the sons has to assume the duty.

When a shaman, however, has no sons, he indicates his successor among the sons of his brothers and adopts him. The boy will inherit his wealth and substance and become a shaman. If he did not adopt a son during his life, a family council convenes in order to indicate one of their boys to succeed to the deceased shaman, for the future of the whole family is at stake. The Monguors harbor a deep conviction that the whole family is responsible for the continuation of the dedication of a member to the cult of the spirits, and that the family would not be able to withstand the calamities entailed by such neglect.

The Monguors say that in former times, when the [462] shaman had no sons, one of his daughters discharged the duty, but at present there are no more female shamans. Many times I received from the Monguors this explanation which, according to their trend of mind, seemed logical.

When I asked the shamans why they accepted only their sons or nephews as pupils, and never sons belonging to families in which there were no shamans, they always answered that such boys could not become shamans. They said their old ancestor had been chosen and ordered by the Twelve Tengris themselves to honor them; that the way of practicing their art had been taught to him by the Twelve Tengris themselves and that consequently their "family" had to discharge this duty. "We have to honor our shaman ancestors," they said. "because when we are fulfilling our duty their spirits come to us, helping us serve the tengris; they know the way of approaching the tengris; they live with them and know them, make them take possession of us, and make them help us in every way. Without the spirits of our ancestors we are unable to perform the rites, to call up our Tengris and to combat evil spirits. The spirits of our ancestors know us, and protect us, because we are their descendants, and so do the Twelve Tengris; but our ancestors will not help strangers and our Tengris recognize only our family as their servants;

therefore a member of an alien family can never become 756
a shaman."

When I asked whether all the Monguor shamans served the twelve spirits, the answer was that they did, and then I objected, not understanding why, that the family names of the shamans were not the same. They answered that the spirits had chosen ancestors of different families to become shamans, but all these things had happened centuries ago. This explanation seemed to be full of holes.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF SHAMAN

BEHAVIOR AMONG SHAMANS AND BETWEEN SHAMANS AND MONGUORS

Shamans always said that in the mountains south of 756
the Hsining River were shamans serving only evil 628
spirits, who were therefore called "black shamans." 565
They dedicate themselves to the evil spirits, and to 754
Erlik Khan, their chief, and unleash them to harm the people. The "white shamans" must drive away the evil spirits and undo their harm; they serve only good spirits and are devoted to them in the same way the black shamans are devoted to the evil spirits.

White shamans never have friendly relations with black shamans and never give their daughters to their sons, or take brides for their sons from among them; one group despises the other. The white shamans always boast of their superior power, and the thorough efficacy of their good spirits over the evil spirits, and are convinced that their group existed long before the black shamans came into existence.

The Monguors are really afraid of the black shamans. They never give their daughters to them, and shun them because they know they are dangerous fellows. When a black shaman is traveling through the country and asks to stay for the night in a Monguor village, the horror-stricken Monguors never dare to refuse to comply with his demand, and so display the most gracious hospitality for fear he might unleash the evil spirits and harm the village. The black shamans know they are shunned and that they have no friends in the world. They are dominated by an inferiority complex. When they encounter anyone on the road, they retire to the wayside and allow the wayfarer to pass first.

This attitude toward the black shamans is understandable, but why it exists in the same way toward the white shamans is an enigma. The white shamans living in the village are always invited by private families and the communities to provide aid and support in all kind of troubles; they are said to be the servants of the good spirits. Notwithstanding this, the Monguors do not like to have friendly, intimate relations with them. The white shamans are never invited to dinners and feasts for births of children, marriages, or funerals. Ordinary people never either marry their girls to sons of white shamans or permit their boys to marry girls of white shamans. No white shaman is allowed in the intimacy of the family; he is shunned. 754 He is also dominated by an inferiority complex, and accustomed 756 to letting a wayfarer pass first on the road. 628 He knows that he does not belong at the top of society, 565 for during the empire, the Monguors say, no shaman was allowed to compete for literary degrees. Their profession was discredited in the same way as that of tailors, barbers, and comedians. The social standing of the shamans and the influence they wielded in former times are really beyond all comparison with their poor condition of today.

But do the Monguors never call the black shamans in [579] order to perform their rites? A couple of facts will be recorded about Monguors who, in order to take vengeance on enemies, invited black shamans to cast spells upon them at night.

NO ENTHUSIASM AMONG THE MONGUORS FOR THE DUTY OF SHAMAN

It is a well-known fact all over the country that shamans 756 generally have an aversion to their office and do not like to carry out their functions, but, bound by the choice of their father shaman, and knowing that a refusal would be fraught with all kinds of evil consequences, they discharge their burdensome, non-remunerative duty. The Monguors say that in families where there are no shamans, permission would never be granted by the parents and the chiefs of the families for a member of the family to become a shaman.

In the Valley of Hung-nai there are no more shamans 756 at present. During the terrible Moslem rebellion, all 778 the shaman families were exterminated. The inhabitants of the valley, afraid of the burdens attached to this profession, no longer allow their sons to become shamans. They prefer to honor the more lenient deities of Lamaism and have their sons become lamas. They invite shamans of other villages to perform shamanistic rites in their village every year in the spring and at hail time; the other rites are all performed by lamas. Shamans, however, according to their own ideology, assert that no more shamans can arise among them.

Several times I heard the typical story, later attested 756 to by No Kuang-li, that when he was a boy a member of his family was ordered by his father shaman to succeed him. The unwilling boy was compelled to accompany his father at the performance of all kinds of rites, to learn the usual prayers, and to submit to the peculiar training. When his father died, the boy tried to get rid of the duty, but the family council decided that he had to comply with the choice made by his father. The boy's nerves were on edge and he went on a rampage; his health was impaired, his mind was seriously affected and he had a mental breakdown. He roamed for months in the mountains, shunning all kinds of people and finally was found hanging from a tree. After so many years this fact was still recorded and explained by the Monguors as being a punishment meted out by the spirit who had selected that boy as its minister. Such recollected facts always sear the mind 756 of the Monguors, convincing them that the spirit is to be obeyed, and that it is a terrible spirit.

When we take stock of what has been said of the behavior of the Monguors toward the shamans, the inferiority complex of the shamans, the exacting requirements of the spirit, and the poor remuneration of the office, it is no wonder that the shamans do not enjoy their profession and meet their obligations with revulsion. What is more remarkable is that the same trend of mind exists among all the shamans all over Asia.[14]

DEDICATION AND TRAINING OF THE MONGUOR SHAMANS[15]

Usually the son succeeds the father, and the father is the trainer of his son; the father has no other apprentices. However, during the slack season of agricultural routine, it is not unusual to see sons of different shamans staying for a couple of months with a shaman relative, celebrated for the proficiency of his art. The boys recognize the shaman as their master.

The training of the shaman boy starts when he is 756 about ten years of age. At that time the father invites 768 the elders of his family and some shamans, he kills a sheep and performs the ceremony of the dedication. The boy kneels with incense sticks in his joined hands. The shamans beat drums, perform a dance before the picture of the twelve spirits especially honored by them, and before the staff placed before the picture. A shaman, holding the staff in his hands, then invites the spirits to descend into it. When the staff starts shaking, he makes the announcement to the spirits of the dedication of the boy to their service, and asks them whether or not they approve the dedication of the boy. The invited spirits make the staff shiver and shake more and more in the hands of the shaman. The shaman states that the boy is accepted and dedicated for his whole life to the Twelve Tengris; that they will help him, but will get him into serious trouble if he gives only lip service to them; that he is no longer his own master, but is linked to them by the dedication; then he describes the most terrible calamities which are in store for undutiful shamans, while the staff shakes feverishly in his hands. A dance is performed around the boy while drums are beaten and the ceremony is completed. The gamut of all kind of misfortunes and calamities visited on undutiful shamans will be dinned in his ears in all circumstances, so that the boy, living in an atmosphere of fear and apprehensions, will reach his manhood. Stress is to be put on the fact that the shaman is dedicated to the Twelve Tengris who descended into the staff.

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[14] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 977. Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 55-56. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 248-706.

[15] See also Vreeland, *op. cit.*, 249, *sq.*, for shamanism among the Daghor Mongols.

PHYSICAL TRAINING

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A small drum is prepared for the boy and the father teaches him to beat it in the right tempo; he teaches him the usual prayers. Every day in the morning and at evening he will sit cross-legged with his father in front of the picture and the staff, beating the drum, receiving instruction and asking for explanations. The father teaches him the pasting of flags and streamers with white, red, and yellow paper, the cutting of all kinds of paper designs; the kneading of all kind of dough figures used during the rites; the application on red paper of the usual seals. He also teaches him the different kinds of dancing, and how to attack imagined spirits or defend himself against them, with sword and spear; and how to use the whip, the staff, and the knife. Special stress is put on athletic exercises in order to strengthen and supple the muscles and bones, and also on all kinds of acrobatics, climbing up poles, jumping on tables, executing dangerous pirouettes. Because all the shamanist [535] rites are accompanied by dances, peculiar stress is put on moving with grace and elegance with measured steps to the beating of the drum. The best dancers among the shamans are very celebrated all over the country. All shamans are acrobats and fine dancers.

Most shamans are proficient in the art of producing tones and words without any motion of the mouth, so that the listeners are induced to refer the sound to spirits speaking in the drum and answering the questions proposed to them by the shaman. They are wonderful ventriloquists. This art is used at the time the spirits are called up in the drums, and long conversations are held between them and the shamans.

The apprentice, from the very beginning, accompanies his father in performing shamanist rites. He learns with enthusiasm and vigor, for the boy is eager to beat drums, play the acrobat, dance with the elders and imitate them, but at the same time he sees and hears his father conjuring the spirits, calling them up, attacking and chasing evil spirits. He sees the awful rictus of his mouth and jaws, the painful contortions of his whole body; he hears him, worked into a frenzy, predicting the future; and sees his eyes in a fixed stare. Hundreds of times he sees and hears the same rites performed for sick men, and hears the shaman talking to the villagers at the general rites of spring and autumn. Because the [776] same things are said and done over and over again, he remembers them all by heart. The novelty, however, of beating drums, wears off very fast, and unconsciously he starts living in a new world of spirits, acting and thinking in the way of the shamans. He believes his father and the other shamans, he becomes hypnotized by their words, gestures, and acts, and he starts seeing and hearing spirits himself. He gets the conviction that, protected by the twelve spirits to whom he is dedicated, he can also subdue evil spirits and act as the agent of good ones, and he becomes a shaman.

Helping his father and other shamans for years and having himself alone performed rites, eventually when

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his father becomes old and retires, he accepts his incumbency. 756 No more formalities are required, for he is 868 not the shaman attached to the village and does not live at its expense.

INTELLECTUAL AND RELIGIOUS TRAINING OF THE APPRENTICES

The intellectual education of shamans is of a very low standard. Shamans are unable to read Mongol or Tibetan books. Their prayers are said in Chinese, but because the apprentices never attend schools, they are [213] not able to read Chinese books or to write a letter. The elders teach them to write a small number of Chinese characters, used on the few inscriptions pasted on the pole or on the doors and walls of the temples, but most of the time they print the inscriptions by means of engraved wooden blocks. They have, however, a few [212] small prayer books written in Chinese and copied by the most intelligent among them, or by Monguor friends. These prayer books are not printed. Monguors and shamans assured me that they did not possess any books explaining their doctrine. No wonder that the instruction differs, from teacher to teacher. It was always impossible to get a coherent explanation from the shamans about religious subjects. They do [779] not pore over books or rack their brains over theories or philosophical or religious problems. Their science is more one of fantasies, anecdotes, and miraculous tales concerning a number of spirits, told during the performance of the rites. I suppose the instruction of the apprentices would consist of being taught about the same items dealing with the spirits honored by the shamans [796] at the rites of spring and autumn. More will be said about the subject.

The conclusion seems to be that the intellectual and religious training of most of the shamans is neglected and only superficial, and that the physical training ranks first. Many apprentices, in order to perform their physical training and acrobatics, go for months to shamans celebrated in that field. Finally it is said that the education of the apprentices is carried on by accompanying the shamans; their eyes and ears are their real teachers. Some exceptions, however, seem to have existed always, even in these latter times.

Many times I heard the Monguors speaking about a famous old Lu shaman, who died around 1904. The old man went every year to the mountains of Waza with his own apprentice and the apprentices of other shamans. They lived in the caverns, fasting the whole time and sleeping only a few hours during the day. All night they were honoring their spirits, fondling and cajoling them and learning about fighting the evil spirits in the mountains, who every night attacked and combatted them. When they left the mountains, they were exhausted and emaciated from the exertion. The apprentices of the old Lu were said to be the best shamans in the country. Two among them are said to have died by jumping over a precipice in the mountains.

[p.82(A)]

756 538 A lot of anecdotes, overlaid with fabulous legends, are told about powerful shamans who lived in former times. A famous shaman of Too long was invited to cure a dying man. The man died before his arrival. The soul of the shaman, after the completion of certain rites, went to see Erlik Khan, the King of Hell, and examining the files he found that the man had died several years before his destined time. The soul of the shaman came back; he performed a set of new rites and the man came to life and lived for several more years. I wondered how such anecdotes, known all over Asia, were spread among the Monguors. The overall con- [868] clusion, after all the talks about old famous shamans, was always: "We no longer have the stuff of which shamans are made, for the apprentices are no longer trained in the right way."

MONGUOR SHAMANS AND NEUROSIS

756 158 What about the general statement of the ethnologists that shamans are victims of neurosis? It is said of the brutal training of the apprentices among the nomads, in opposition to the most elementary principles of pedagogy, that nothing could have been devised, better calculated to unseat the reason and to form pitiable neurotics of them.

In former times, according to the Monguors, the training of the Monguor shamans must have been very similar. The recent cases of the two apprentices of the old Lu shaman seem to evidence this assumption. On the other hand, it is a known fact that among the hereditary diseases neurosis is the most frequently inherited. Because children of shamans must marry children of [582] shamans, the danger of inheritance is increased and it creates a predisposition to produce more easily suggestions and hallucinations among the members of such families. The fact of the suicide of the boy No, unwilling to become a shaman, is suggestive. It seems, therefore, not too far fetched to suppose that the shamans and their apprentices easily get the conviction of seeing spirits and hearing them talk. Because they will see and hear them, they act accordingly, notwithstanding their actual superficial training. On the other hand, for neurosis, as for all diseases, the question of plus and minus is always open, but the morbid basis of the disease is always existent.

Some of the shamans performing the rites seem to act as though in a play, straining for effects. They give the profession a black eye, while others seem to mean business and to act as real shamans. After all, the fact remains that shamans never dare to quit the profession, notwithstanding that it is a poor means of livelihood.

SHAMAN DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS

DRESSES

756 292 The shaman when not performing rites for communities or private families, dresses in the same way as the Monguors, but while acting as shaman he wears a special

costume, as follows: a long Chinese gown of black cloth, 756
with a large flat collar, in the manner of the Taoist 292
priests, crossing over the chest and buttoned on the left side. Over the gown he wears a coat of silk, adorned with flowers or dragons, having large sleeves and reaching below the knees. The coat is similar to the one worn under the empire by distinguished Chinese. The black color of the gown is unusual in the country and is confined to the shamans. Stress should be put on the startling difference existing between the simple official dress of the Monguor shaman and the official dress of many shamans among the nomads, whose main article of costume consists of a large mantle adorned with superstitious paraphernalia and symbols. Clothed in the mantle the shamans feel themselves possessed by their spirits; without it, they cannot perform their rites. This mantle is said to be worn by the black shamans living in the mountains south of the Hsining River. No traditions are prevalent to the effect that the Monguor shamans used the mantle in former times, but it is always said that they never wore it.

CINCTURE

The long black gown is belted by a long strip of black 756
cotton, wrapped a couple of times around the waist, as 293
all lay people do. The shamanists among the Mongols of Ordos take off their girdle[16] four times a year, while performing their important rite by means of prostrations, facing the sun. Chingis having escaped with his life from pursuing brigands took off his girdle, put it around his neck, and facing the sun, prostrated nine times.[17] Among the Monguors the girdle has not the same importance. Monguor shamans and shamanists never take off the sash when they honor "Heaven and all the spirits" or perform rites.

The Mongols of Ordos, if the bridegroom happens to become sick on the day of the marriage, marry the bride with his belt.[18] The Monguors do not perform such marriages, but when a girl has relations with a traveling guest, she asks for his girdle and name. If she becomes pregnant, she ceremoniously marries the girdle, is called Mrs. so-and-so, according to the name of the guest, and her child is similarly named.[19]

CAPS[20]

The Monguor shamans use three kinds of caps, all 756
three black in color: the first is a kind of toque, a brim- 292
less pliable bonnet having a tassel of dog hair on top. 302
This cap is similar to that of the Chinese Taoist priests. On the top of the cap, next to the tassel of dog hair, a hole is left through which is seen a hairpin which holds

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[16] A. Mostaert, *Dictionaire Ordos*, 84.

[17] P. Pelliot, *Œuvres posthumes, Histoire secrète des Mongols*, Chap. II, paragraph 103, Paris, Adrien Maisonneuve, 1949.

[18] Mostaert, *op. cit.*, 176.

[19] L. Schram, *Mariage chez les T'ou-jen*, 130.

[20] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 148.

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the hair coiled inside the cap. All the shamans wear the pigtail, which they coil when performing rites. 756 292 302

Traditional pictures of Taoist saints show that these worthies were wont to wear their hair in a knot on the top of the head. The Manchu Tartars conquered China and compelled the people to adopt their coiffure and shave their heads except on the top, where it was allowed to grow long and be braided as a pigtail. The *sai kung*, like the whole nation, had to submit to this order, but with pious conservatism they have preserved the ancient orthodox fashion on behalf of their altar service; that is to say, while officiating they coil their hair into a knot upon their heads and cover the shaven part around it with a wig of braided human hair.[21] [175]

The Monguor shamans, however, do not wear the wig.

The Manchus not only preserved their traditional style of dress and haircut, they even compelled Chinese men during the period of invasion to adopt Manchu dress, shave their heads, and grow the queue. This enforced change was so bitterly resented by the Chinese that many times they chose rather to die, or lose their heads, than obey the Tartars in these ceremonies. The literary inquisition launched during the Ch'ien-lung period reveals that, in the eighteenth century, a Chinese who yearned for the old cap and garments was still considered a dangerous rebel.[22] [648]

The second headdress has the form of a sack, of black cloth, tightly bound around the head. A tail, three feet in length, is fixed on this cap. Plaited with red rope around a twisted black rope of cloth, the tail which is thin at the bottom and thick at the end, is rolled on the head, but released when the shaman is executing acrobatic evolutions.

The third one is a crown, in form like the *chod pon* of the lamas,[23] divided in front into five parts, bearing a crude picture of the god of the five roads, the Wu-tao-shen, whose disciples the shamans claim to be. (Shamans never wear a crown with the five Dhyani Buddhas; their antagonism toward Lamaism is too pronounced to do that; they never will perform rites in a Buddhist temple of the village.)[24]

THE DRUM

The drum is one of the important implements of a shaman. It is used to invoke the spirits during the performance of the rites; the spirits enter into it and ritual dances are performed in time with the beat. Every shaman has his own drum, and generally another in reserve. Upon the death of the shaman his drum is buried with him in the coffin, for it is a personal object. The boy apprentices receive a drum of smaller dimensions from their father, on the day of their dedication to the twelve spirits. Apprentices who receive part of their 756 534 [766] 000

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[21] J. J. M. De Groot, *The religious systems of China* **6**: Bk. II: 1267, 1910, Leiden, Brill.

[22] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* **36**: 12, 1949. However, the Chinese were required to change to Manchu dress at the insistence of a Chinese official. See S. Cammann, *China's dragon robes*, 21, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[23] Alexandra David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 92, Paris, Plon, 1929.

[24] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 148, Importance of the cap.

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Apprentices who receive part of their

training for a couple of years from another shaman, dur- 756 534
ing the summer time, and who acknowledge him as their [874]
master, offer him a gown upon completion of their education. In return, they receive a drum from him. The rules of apprenticeship among the shamans are the same as those already noted for other apprentices, such as carpenters.

The overwhelming magical significance attached to the drum by the nomad shamans is lacking among the Monguor shamans. Among the nomads, when the apprentice, after completing his depressing training, beats the drum for the first time, he becomes hypnotized and tranced.[25] Although the Monguor shamans consider the drum a sacred magical object, the same overriding importance is not attached to it.

The drum is built in a primitive way. A handle is attached to an iron circle with iron rings, which produce noise when the drum is beaten. On the iron circle is stretched a piece of goatskin, which has been soaked in water and shaved. On its surface are often painted crude pictures of heaven, with the sun, moon, the big and the little dippers, stars and clouds. The drumstick is usually made from peachwood or strips of goat hide twisted together.

THE KNIFE

The shamans use a knife when driving away the evil 756
spirits. The knife is twelve inches long and two inches 413
wide, and pointed at the end. To the handle are at- 293
tached noisemaking iron rings. Sometimes the Chinese knife used for cutting noodles is substituted.

THE MAGIC STAFF

The staff, which is of wood, seems to be an important tool.[26] To the top is affixed a copper mirror surmounted by a three-pronged iron fork to which tassels of red rope are attached. The staff ends in an iron point, so that it may be planted erect in the ground during the time when council with the spirit is asked for. The magic staff is a tool used by lamas and Taoists as well as by shamans. The staff of the lamas differs from that of the shamans in that the mirror is surmounted by a copper skull, while above the skull is the point of a spear. The staff of the Taoists has an octagonal shaft with an iron point on top.

Each time, before performing a rite, the shaman asks 756
his spirits in the staff about the most fitting rite for 793
the circumstance, the sacrifice to be offered. The answer is supplied by the twelve spirits making the arms of the shaman shiver, and so he knows how to conjure evil spirits who harm persons, families, or herds. It is always called *Yang-t'ou san-ch'iang*. (I could never get an explanation of this Chinese term.) The staff is used when the shamans go into private families in order

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[25] Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 79.

[26] Ugo Holmbergs, Siberian mythology, in *Mythology of all races* 4: 522, Boston, 1927.

[p.84(A)]

to drive away evil spirits. It is not used during the 756
ceremonies celebrated in the temple of the village. The 793
staff is considered to be endowed with magical power and is planted before the picture of the Twelve Tengris honored by the shaman at his home. It is honored like an idol; the shaman burns incense and prostrates himself before it.

Every time a shaman uses his tools they have to be purified. By smoking them above a fire of cypress boughs. It is said that some laymen who honor a special spirit are able to use a staff and to call their spirit into it.

SPIRITS HONORED BY THE SHAMANS

The problem of the spirits honored by the shamans 756
involves the very interesting question of how and to 177
what extent shamanism and Taoism became mixed and 171
interwoven among the Monguor shamans—a question which is all the more interesting because it has often been written that shamanism and Taoism are strongly linked together. In order to tackle the problem it is necessary to determine whether the spirits honored by shamans and Taoists are the same, whether the ways of worshipping them are similar, and what may have been the reason for the intermixture of the two religions.

SHAMANS, DISCIPLES OF THE TAOIST GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS

The most baffling and confusing fact in this respect 756
is that all the Monguor shamans overtly claim to be 776
disciples of the "god of the five roads," the Wu-tao- 171
shen, who is a Taoist god.

When the chiefs of the villages invite a shaman to perform his rites of spring or autumn for the community, they send one of the elders with an official invitation written on a slip of red paper, "to [sir] Hsien-sheng so-and-so, disciple of the god of the Five Roads." During the Mongol dynasty the term *Hsien-sheng* was only used for Taoist priests. On New Year's the shamans send to the chiefs of the villages and to outstanding people a card reading, "Happy Congratulations of so-and-so, disciple of the god of the five roads." It has already been noted that the crown worn by the Monguor shamans represents the god of the Five Roads, that one of the caps worn during the performance of the rites is the cap of the Taoist priests, and that the pattern of their gown, except for its color, is the same as that of the Taoist priests. It has been noted that the Monguor shamans are members of the guild of the Taoist priests of the city. When a shaman dies he is buried wearing the crown of the god of the Five Roads. If one adds that many of the temples in the villages in which the shamans perform their rites are dedicated to the god of the Five Roads, and that at the same time more Taoist statues are honored in them, it gives the impression that the shamans are a kind of Taoist. Not only does the cult of the god of

the Five Roads link them to Taoism, but also the cults 756
of Lung-wang (the Dragon King, provider of rain), 776
Niang-Niang (the Mother Goddess of children), Ho Hu 171
(provider of rain), Hsüan-t'an (guardian deity against hail), Ma-wang (the Horse King, protector of horses), and Ts'ai Shen (the god of wealth). During the performance of their rites these gods are called up, and are supposed to come to attend the gathering of the community. The dialogues between the shamans and the Taoist deities gave the illusion of attending a real Taoist assembly.

All these facts evidence the assumption that the shamans worship the gods of Taoism.

"GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS"

The Monguor shamans during the performance of 175
their rites in spring and autumn never fail to assert be- 776
fore the public that they are the real disciples of the 756
god of the five roads, who was created god by the emperors of the Chou dynasty (1122–256 B.C.) and that the General Chiang Tze-ya ordered them to worship him, teaching them the way of honoring him, and promising that he would provide his aid and support to them in the most trying and straightened circumstances, and would never falter.

This explanation, in crude Taoistic fashion, is a far cry from that of nomad shamans who assert that the good spirits had sent from heaven a shaman eagle to teach their ancestors the way of combatting the evil spirits,[27] and from the explanation given by the same Monguor shamans that their ancestors were chosen by the Twelve Tengris. These ambiguous and equivocal explanations seem really to cancel one another out. According to their own explanation their shamanism is ultimately founded on a mandate received from a Chinese general.[28]

The real history of the famous god of the Five Roads I never had the opportunity to find out. In some temples I read the two following inscriptions, "Duke Mu of Ch'in raised him by imperial patent to Wu-tao; prince Chuang of Ch'u gave him, by imperial grace, the title of General"; and "General Mountain before the carriage of King Chou: the spirit of T'ai mountain raised him to Wu-tao." These two inscriptions seem to be as apocryphal as the saying of the shamans, and assign to a period earlier than reliably recorded history the creation of the god. The cult of the god of the Five Roads, however, seems to be widespread along the northwestern borders of China. I met it from

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[27] Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 2–3.

[28] Wieger, *Textes historiques*, 1658–1659, 1841, Ho Kien-fu, 1903. Chiang Tze-ya was traditionally the Shang general who became a counsellor to the founder of the Chou dynasty. He died in 1120 B.C.; twelve centuries later, during the Han dynasty, he became a very popular god of all kinds of pickled stuff. In 731, during the T'ang, he was created "war god" by the Taoist Emperor Huang-tsung, and an order was given to build temples to him.

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Hsining across Ning-hsia to Sui-yuan, and Father W. 776
Grootaers noted in the region of Wan-ch'üan (Kalgan), 756
109 temples of the Wu-tao shen,[29] most of them smaller 175
than they had once been. The representations of the god of the Five Roads in the temples are all very similar. The reason for this similarity in temples so distant one from another may be that the Chinese painters used printed books in which they found the stereotypes and traditional representations of the whole series of spirits. They also used books containing all kinds of inscriptions appropriate to the different special spirits and to the spirits in general, and this explains the uniformity of the inscriptions and paintings encountered all over the country.[30]

TEMPLES OF THE GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS

The abode of the god consists generally of three 756
rooms (*chien*) situated on the north side of a mud or 778
brick walled courtyard. On each side of the courtyard 776
are another three or more rooms for storage of all 346
kind of paraphernalia used for processions and for the 532
kitchen. The entrance is in front of the abode of the god. According to the topography of the country the temple is sometimes built against a mountain without taking account of the points of the compass. In the middle of the three rooms of the front building there is always placed a sedan chair in which is the statue of a female deity clad with a more or less precious robe, or there is the statue of a male deity, such as Wu-tao or Lung-wang. The female deity usually represents the goddess, Niang Niang (mother goddess of children); seldom, Shui-mu, the goddess of the water. The statue seems to be the center of attention for the whole building. It is carried in procession when the people are praying for rain, or for protection against hail. Every year the statues of the goddesses of the temples of Sha-t'ang Valley are carried to the temple of the god Erh-lang,[31] locked up with the god for one night and brought back the next day. The god is said to enjoy the visits of all the goddesses. This curious custom will be discussed later.

On the walls of the three rooms are frescoes depict- 756
ing the god of the Five Roads, who is never alone, but 776
associated with other gods. In the central panel the 346
god sits on a large chair, represented in the customary 532
fashion of a corpulent Chinese general, with long black beard, military cap, red coat over armor, large loose

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[29] William A. Grootaers, Temples and history of Wan-ch'üan, *Monumenta Serica*, 13: 232, 1948. What is said in this very valuable study, in Chap. 2, on the Wu-tao temples, concerning the arrangements of the temples, the images and frescoes, even the inscriptions, tallies completely with my former notes. This is the first and only study made in China concerning all the temples built in a limited area affording interesting data for the history of religion and the history of the country.

[30] *Ibid.*, 239.

[31] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 263. The identity of this spirit seems not to be the same in North and Middle China.

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belt at the waist, the legs sprawled apart, boots with 756 thick soles on the feet, and a sword in the hand. On 776 the eastern panel is painted another general, the god 346 of the Mountain (Shan Shen) in nearly the same posture. 532 On the western panel is painted an older man with white beard, vest, a yellow robe, hands hidden in his large sleeves; he is the god of the Earth (T'u-ti Shen). Why these three gods are always placed together is a mystery.

In the foreground of the three images on the east is the god P'an-tze, the judge, holding in his hands the "register of the living and the dead" (Sheng-ssu p'u). On the west is a horned, black-faced devil with red skin, holding the "Tablet to hook souls" (K'u hun p'ai). It is a strange gathering of disparate gods whose association is a puzzle. The association of these gods in the same temple explains the fact that some shamans, when performing rites, wear a crown with only one image, that of the god of the Five Roads, while others wear a crown with three images (Wu-tao, Mountain god, Earth god), and some wear the crown with five images, adding P'an-tze and the black-faced devil. It is no wonder that one also sees in some temples of the god of the Five Roads the inscription: "Wu-tao, Mountain god, and Earth god, protect this village, that it may get peace." All these disconcerting anomalies do not bother either the shamans or the Monguors.

In temples, so far distant from one another, we find not only similarity in the representation of the god of the Five Roads and his associates, but even in the subjects painted on the frescoes on both the side walls of the temple. Father Grootaers calls the subject, "the pursuit of the evil ones," explaining that "the god honored in the temple is shown on horseback, engaged in a pursuit against the powers of evil, which he then brings back enchained."[32] What, however, may have been the original mystical or ascetic meaning is not known, but the subject seems wonderfully adapted to the circumstances of the country of Hsining and the mentality of the people. The region of Hsining is mountainous. The most terrible yearly scourges, dreaded by the people, are the summer hailstorms devastating their crops. They are supposed to be produced by evil spirits, who must be combatted and subdued. The specific means used by the shamans in order to protect the crops against that scourge will be recorded later.

On the eastern wall is painted the picture of a hailstorm. 756 532 The pictures in Hsining are more fantastic and in better keeping with the imagination of a Chinese painter than the pictures seen by Father Grootaers. An old, wickedly shrewd Chinese woman with disheveled hair blows wind and storm by means of a pair of bellows. A fat Chinese, elaborately vested, extends his arms, and black, threatening clouds gush effusively out

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[32] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 220.

[p.86(A)]

of his large sleeves—he is the spirit of the clouds. An- 756
other corpulent Chinese god pours a torrent of rain out 532
of the urn of the rainbow, which he holds in his hands. A Chinese girl, standing in the sky, flashes two metal mirrors producing terrific lightning. A spirit with athletic appearance, having a couple of long wings attached to his back, clashes a hammer and chisel together with fury, producing thunder. All over the scene big hailstones rattle down on crops and herds of fleeing sheep and cows and people with bleeding faces. Horses, cows, sheep, birds, serpents, and a couple of men lie dead on the ground. In the sky the three famous gods on horseback, with a whole retinue of dragon riders led by the devil, and the judge accompanied by a wolf and tiger, start the pursuit of the evil doers. It is a terrific picture for people who know by experience the havoc wrought on their crops by hailstorms.

In front of this awful picture on the western wall is displayed the pageant of the victorious return of the gods and their retinue, riding spirited horses, with banners on high, tiger and wolf with mouths and teeth red with blood from devouring the evil doers. The whole procession is proceeding toward the gate of a walled town where an immense crowd, on bended knees, waits to thank and congratulate the gods.

These two pictures are never lacking, either in the temples of the dragon gods of Ho-hu, Hsüan-T'an, or in those of the goddesses of children. This fact is really significant and reveals the people's dread of hailstorms.

The God of the Five Roads with his associates, over whom he seems to preside, is supposed to be a protector against hailstorms, so much dreaded by the people.

All these cumulative facts prove without question [177]
that the Monguor shamans have adopted the gods of Taoism and honor them.

SHAMANS AND THEIR OWN TWELVE TENGRIS

The problem of the spirits honored by the shamans is 756
not exhausted by the cult of the god of the Five Roads 776
and his associates, since they still honor their own old 532
spirits, calling them, "Our Twelve good Tengris, the most potent among the spirits." The young shamans are dedicated to the Twelve Tengris and not the god of the Five Roads. Moreover, the shamans honor at home the Twelve Tengris and not the god of the Five Roads.

Who are the Tengris? Most of the pictures I saw were very primitive and painted by shamans themselves; those painted by Chinese artists were better. The pictures represented four rows of three Chinese warriors riding horses and wearing bow and quiver; a man on foot, with bow and quiver, accompanied each of the soldiers. In the center of the picture there was painted a man, not a warrior, bigger in size than the others, dressed in black, with a black face and beard, riding a white tiger and holding in his hand a knotty staff. I was curious about them, and was told that the black tiger rider was the chieftain, the leader of the

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group, and also, that on old images painted before the 756
Moslem rebellion, the twelve warriors and their servants 776
were represented as Mongols, and not Chinese, and 532
further, that a couple of modern shamans recently added to their pictures of the warriors, three Chinese girls riding on horseback, whom they called the "three small grandmothers," the *San Hsiao Niang Niang*.

The conviction existing among the Monguor shamans that the Twelve Tengris are their original and proper spirits is too general and too definite, and the behavior of the shamans toward them is too significant to be simply ignored or explained away. Further, the Monguors and the shamans know very well that shamans are not Taoist priests, and for that reason they call them *Bö* or *Fa shih*, "Masters of Magic," and not *Tao-shih*, "Masters of Tao," and they know very well that the rites performed by the shamans are not the same as those performed by Taoist priests in the country. Therefore, a rational explanation should exist.

CULT OF THE TWELVE TENGRIS TRACED 756

In the last month of the year the houses had to be 776
cleansed and purified of all kinds of evil influences and 776
spirits. At the palace of the prince a group of young boys, 796
frightening and cursing the evil spirits hidden in the rooms, cried out that the "12 spirits" were on the way to hunt down and annihilate them; a group of 12 men, disguised as animals, led by the official exorcist (*Fang hsiang*) started pursuing the evil spirits.[33]

The eleventh on the list of the pursuing spirits was the "tiger," who was reputed the fiercest destroyer of all producers of calamities. Tigers are supposed to be the fiercest enemies of evil spirits . . . the tiger was the first dancer among the 12 performers of the rite.[34]

The tiger was the white tiger.[35]

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[33] Henri Maspero, *La Chine antique*, 246, Paris, Boccard, 1927.

[34] Marcel Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine antique*, 319, 299-320, Paris, Alcan, 1926.

[35] *Ibid.*, 306. Ch. de Harlez, *Le livre des esprits et des immortels*, 176, Bruxelles, F. Hayez, 1893: "The nature of the white tiger, according to the *Shen-hsien t'ung chien* (18th century) seems to be at least ambiguous . . . the tiger is the strongest expression of the *Yang* principle (principle of power); the tiger lives 1,000 years and becomes white only after 500 years; its claws and the powder obtained by the burning of its skin are the most powerful: the thunder is its voice, talismans; or is produced by the noise of walking heavenly tigers. . . . In the regions of the west, at Fung lung, lived a white tiger accustomed to drinking human blood; every year the people offered a human sacrifice to it in order that it might desist from killing men. Chang Tao-ling (patron of the Taoists) ordered it to desist from this practice; the tiger left the country and disappeared forever. . . ."

Owen Lattimore, The gold tribe 'Fishkin Tatars' of the lower Sungari, *Memoirs Amer. Anthropol. Assoc.* **40**: 62, 1933: ". . . spirits like the bear, and especially the tiger, seem to be extremely rare as familiars (of the shamans), though they appear sometimes as enemies in the course of 'great spirit' ceremonies . . . I have heard only once of a shaman who apparently had a tiger familiar; he was regarded as a person much to be dreaded." "Shamans rely on animal spirits, the eagle, sturgeon, weasel, the *ulki* (an animal of the squirrel family), and otter appear to be the commonest familiars [of the shamans]."

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On the doors, on New Year's, was pasted the image of 756 the tiger.[36] 776

These texts excerpted from the book *Lün heng* written 796 by Wang Ch'ung, who died in A.D. 80–100, record rites practiced during the centuries before our era, and reveal that the twelve spirits were supposed the most powerful in the matter of driving out evil spirits, and that among the twelve, the White Tiger was paramount.

The cult of the twelve spirits led by their chieftan (Fang hsiang) combatting evil spirits seems to have been very popular in China. It was very tenacious, for it was still performed during the Liao dynasty, A.D. 907–1125. Wittfogel and Feng note: " . . . at the end of the year, 12 shamans, led by a great 'Wu,' sang, shouted, rang bells, and walked (or danced) around the tents with arrows in their hands, fighting off the spirits. Then they retreated to special tents for seven days."[37]

The cult of the twelve spirits of the Monguor sha- 756 mans seems to be related to the old cult of the twelve 776 spirits in the disguise of animals, among which the White Tiger was paramount, the whole group being led by a chieftain, the Fang hsiang. Although in their pictures twelve warriors are represented plus the black rider on a white tiger, they always call the picture "the [532] picture of the Twelve Tengris," and not the picture of thirteen spirits, or the picture of the White Tiger. They assert that they are the servants of the twelve spirits, their apprentices are dedicated to the twelve spirits, and the Monguors who honor the picture at home as a protector of the family always call it, "The picture of the Twelve Tengris." They no longer know that the twelve warriors represented, in old times, twelve spirits in the disguise of animals, among which the White Tiger was paramount. However, all these facts seem to evidence that it is deeply ingrained in their consciousness that they honor Twelve Tengris, and no more, which are the enemies and destroyers of evil spirits. What is really astonishing is that, notwithstanding that the origin of the cult is completely lost, they continue to paint twelve warriors, and to put in the center of the picture a big white tiger mounted by a rider holding, not weapons, but a knotty staff in his hand. In this way the prominent role played in old times by the white tiger seems to be conserved, for a tiger occupies the center of the picture. What is even

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W. Heissig, Schamanen im Kürye-Banner, *Folklore Studies* 3: 1: 44, Peking, 1944. The shaman in the Kürye-Banner wears an apron during the performances, representing the skin of a brown spotted tiger.

Doolittle, *Social life of the Chinese*, 229. Eliade, *op. cit.*, 146. Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen* 1: 344–352; 2: 144, 160, Leiden, Brill, 1942.

[36] Granet, *op. cit.*, 336.

[37] Karl A. Wittfogel and Fêng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, (907–1125), *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 36: 218, 1949. See also Eberhard, "Ich habe es fur sehr wahrscheinlich dass die Tiertanze der No-Feste auf Turkestanischen fremde Einflüsse zuruck gehen," *Lokalkulturen, op. cit.* 1: 188.

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more astonishing is that the most potent rite performed 756 ● by the shamans against hail is called, all over the coun- 776 try, the Rite of the White Tiger, and that inside the mound built at that time is buried the effigy of the White Tiger with the black rider. Even today they still call the black rider the leader of the whole group, but nobody is able to explain why he is represented with a coat of black paint.

The three essential elements of the old cult are still represented in the picture, the twelve warriors representing the animals, the White Tiger being the most prominent, and the leader being the Fang hsiang of olden times.

Still another conclusion is to be drawn from the tradition that in former times, before the revolts of the Moslems, the twelve warriors were represented as Mongol warriors, and the fact that the twelve warriors are called *Tengris,* the Mongol term for a "heavenly being," and not *shen,* the Chinese term for a "spirit," notwithstanding that they call the other spirits by the Chinese name. Therefore, it seems obvious that the ancestors of the Monguor shamans must have belonged to the groups of Mongols who were settled in the country of Huang-chung by the Yüan dynasty, and that they came to Hsining bringing with them their Tengris from Mongolia. Monguor shamans seem to be of barbarian rather than Chinese stock.

Still another problem remains unsolved. The Mon- 756 guors are a fusion of two important groups, Mongols 184 and Shat'o Turks. We seem to be able to detect the [174] share of the shamans of the Mongol group in the shamanism of the Monguors, but what has been the share of the Shat'o group? To be sure, the Shat'o were as shamanist as the other Turkish groups of Asia. Did they practice the cult of the Twelve Tengris before they settled in the country in 939? What kind of shamanism did they practice? It would be very interesting to know something about the cult of the Twelve Tengris and the role of the White Tiger among them in former times, but no data are available concerning their shamanism and at present the shamanist practices in the different groups of Monguors seem to be all the same.

We only know that the Shat'o who founded the dynasties of Hou T'ang and Hou Chin, like most of the Turkish tribes in Central Asia, honored the old Turkish "God of Heaven." After their conquest of North China the Hou Chin emperor, in 927, made offerings at the winter equinox, outside the city, to the "Barbarian God" at the hill of the White Marshal. When the emperor died, two of his best horses were sacrificed on the Western Mountain. The horse was the most important offering among all the Turkish tribes. Sacrifices were made on the tops of mountains. They liked to worship mountains. The Shat'o liked to visit the Buddhist caves of Lungmen. It is well known that the Turks had a cave myth and that with it was connected a cave

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cult—but in spite of these scanty facts our problem remains unsolved.[38]

MONGUOR SHAMANS—WU OF OLD CHINA—SHAMANS OF CENTRAL ASIA

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The leader of the twelve spirits is, according to the texts, the Fang hsiang, an exorcist belonging to the class of sorcerers who were specialists in the art of neutralizing all kinds of harmful influences and used by the princes for that purpose.[39] "This group, called *Wu*, was an old priesthood of China, spontaneously produced by the animistic religion . . . it still bore supreme sway in the former Han dynasty" (202 B.C.–A.D. 8).[40] The Wu included the kinds of male and female shamans that are encountered all over Asia (Wu are recorded among the Hsiung-nu in 91 B.C.).[41] They were proficient in exorcising spirits of evil and illness, calling down gods and human spirits, going into trances and being possessed, telling the future.[42] Later the Wu were recognized by the official priesthood, who used them in their official ceremonies for calling down spirits and regulating the seats of the gods at sacrifices.[43]

In the *Chou-li*, 1122–256 B.C., are recorded the duties performed at court by these *Wu* scorcerers many centuries before our era, in summoning good spirits in order to drive out evil ones.[44]

Wittfogel and Feng write:

> In our translation we have called the *wu*, shamans. This term is generally used to designate the religious functionaries of Inner and Northern Asia, whose status does not depend upon an officially institutionalized position but is derived from power received "directly from the spirits as a gift or grant." In Asia two types of shamans may be distinguished—the arctic and subarctic. The latter exhibit less ecstasy and only rarely have recourse to frenzy or trance in the performance of their magic and prayers. Among the Ch'i-tan, as among most Altaic peoples, shamanism was definitely "subarctic" and possession was more the exception than the rule.[45]

The Wu in China up to the present time act in the same way, using bells, drums, swords, scepter, whip, dagger, dancing, and the calling down of spirits.[46] At present they are called *Shih-kung* (masters). They represent themselves publicly as priests of Taoism.[47] Chinese law considers them as belonging to the wide class of secular Taoist priests.[48] The capacity of be- [171]

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[38] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerers and rulers*, 92-95, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[39] Henri Maspero, *op. cit.*, 200.

[40] J. J. De Groot, *The religious system of China* 6: 1206, Leiden, Brill, 1910.

[41] *Ibid.*, 1201.

[42] *Ibid.*, 1190.

[43] *Ibid.*, 1191.

[44] Edouard Biot, *Le Tcheouli ou rites du Tcheou* 2: 102, 103, Paris, Duprat, 1851.

[45] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 217. See also page 291, note

[46] De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1212.

[47] *Ibid.*, 1245.

[48] *Ibid.*, 1251.

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coming Shih-kung can hardly be obtained except by inheritance, from a line of able priestly ancestors. They adopt no pupil who is not the son of a colleague,[49] and they use Taoist gods for their own purpose.[50] 756

CULT OF THE TWELVE TENGRIS SPECIFICALLY SHAMANIST

The Monguor shamans seem to belong to the Altaic classification. The traditions concerning the antiquity of the cult of the Twelve Tengris and the preference of the Monguor shamans for the cult are not to be overlooked. An obvious reason for this preference may be found in the fact that the range of activities of the Tengris is more far reaching than that of the Wu tao shen, the god of the Five Roads, because the Tengris combat all kinds of evil spirits while the god of the Five Roads and his associates combat only the hail spirits.

However, the basic reason for the preference among 774 the shamans for the cult of the Twelve Tengris is 756 deeply rooted in the peculiar philosophy of shamanism as it exists in Asia. According to Dioszegi, there existed

> two notions, from the time Shamanism was still in formation, concerning the combats of the shamans with evil spirits: the first assumes that the shaman himself, having taken the shape of an animal, is engaged in the struggle; the second, that the guardian spirit of the shaman, having taken the shape of an animal, waged war.[51]

The Tungus tell of two shamans who changed themselves into bear and tiger, fighting in the presence of the people, and of shamans who assume one of the animal spirit forms to travel a long way.[52] Concerning this philosophy Shirokogoroff notes:

> . . . the group of spirits associated, at least by name, with animals is very numerous . . . by the Northern Tungus these are not considered as animals but manifestations assumed by the spirits; there are the tiger, bear, wolf, fox, snake, dragon, deer, roe-deer, dog, horse, carp, cuckoos, falcons, hawks, eagle, etc.[53]

The old specific shamanist concept concerning animal-like beings (spirits) waging war with evil spirits lies at the base of the Tengris cult. It was realized in the rite of the twelve animal spirits who, long before our era, drove the evil spirits out of the palace of the prince.

This peculiar old philosophy must have caused the ancestors of our Monguor shamans to choose for themselves the cult of the Twelve Tengris and to dedicate themselves to these animal-like Tengris. Today the Monguor shamans unconsciously continue to perform the same dedication and to practice the same cult. The

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[49] *Ibid.*, 1252.

[50] *Ibid.*, 1254.

[51] Dioszegi, Le combat sous forme d'animal des chamans, *Acta Orientalia* 2: 315, Budapest, 1952.

[52] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 371.

[53] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 174.

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774 756 [177] philosophy, therefore, explains the Rite of the White Tiger performed today by the Monguor shamans against hail, and the same principle (as we will see later) is applied in the rite of the "goat skin" and of the "wooden raven" against hail. The same philosophy is encountered in the facts previously related by Owen Lattimore among the Fishkin Tatars, by W. Heissig in the Kürye-Banner, and by Shirokogoroff among the Tungus. In all the studies concerning shamanism in Asia this philosophy is attested.[54]

Therein lies the reason why the Monguor shamans practice the cult of the Twelve Tengris and why it must be said that the Monguor shamans are genuine shamans, belonging to the Altaic classification. No hints are available to suggest that the Twelve Tengris were not the initial spirits to which the ancestor of the Monguor shaman dedicated himself, and we have no hints to fix the time when their ancestor shaman lived. It may only be assumed that the Monguor shamans already served the Tengris at the time of the Yüan dynasty when they settled in Kansu, because their Tengris at that time were represented as Mongol warriors and because the shamans in Mongolia practiced for centuries the subarctic form of shamanism.

MONGUOR SHAMANS ENTER THE TAOIST GUILD

771 It is a well-known fact that among the

> South Mongolian tribes of the Ordos, Tümed and Chahar regions as well as among the North Mongolian Khalkha . . . Shamanism and other "unorthodox creeds" had since been "outlawed" by the code of the Jassaktu Khan, by the religious proclamation of Altan Khan (1577) and the corresponding decree of the Siditü Gabcu in Khalkha (1587), [but that] certain undercurrents of a popular Chinese Taoist mysticism, known there under the name of *Bon-po* (Bö), had continued for some while, but at the death of Ligdan Khan (1634) the Yellow Sect was well established in these parts of Mongolia.[55]

"Outlawed" does not mean that these "unorthodox creeds," these Bon-po, etc., disappeared because of codes, proclamations, and decrees, for their existence is still attested; but they were persecuted or their activities were restrained.

771 628 The Red Sect, patronized by Mongol and Ming emperors and Mongol chiefs, fought a fierce battle against shamanism and Bön. The Yellow Sect fought against the Red Sects from 1558; to these former edicts may be added that of 1640, which had stipulations concerning the suppression of shamanism. "Forty-eight princes and chiefs of Mongol tribes convened in order to fix the so-called 'Mongol-Oirat regulations.'" Among them were Mongol princes of Khalkha, Jungaria, Kukunor (near Hsining) as well as of Siberia, and later two

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[54] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 94-98, 413.

[55] Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century. *Anthropos* 48: 493, 1953.

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771 628 more supplementary decrees of Galdan Hun-tai-ji were added to them.[58]

756 ● 175 795 575 From 1558 until 1640, regulations of Mongol chiefs followed each other, aiming primarily at the destruction of shamanism. The Monguor shamans must have known these facts, for news spreads rapidly among barbarians. At the same time they saw the favors bestowed in the country on lamaseries, Karwas, and Nang-suos, by the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, and they saw Erh-ku-lung, at the height of its glory, founding successively its forty-two branches, each having celebrated lamas. Life or death was the question for the Monguor shamans of Hsining.

It is tempting to suppose that the shamans, living in the quasi-independent territories of the T'u-ssu, near cities in which lived Taoist priests who were organized in guilds officially recognized by the empire, might have sought refuge with the Taoists in order to save their institution and traditions and that they might willingly have entered the guild of the Taoists, whose gods they worshipped for centuries.

If the shamans themselves had been opposed to enrollment in the guild, which entailed pecuniary disadvantages for them and the performance of non-remunerative rites in the city, surely the T'u-ssu, whose subjects they were, could easily have prevented the infringement of the rights, since their Monguors were only responsible to them for corvées, and since their subjects were not enrolled in Chinese guilds. Precisely herein lies the stress of the assumption that without the willing cooperation of the shamans, shamans never could have entered the guild, and when they entered the guild it was through fear of persecution by the Yellow Sect. According to this assumption, the shamans could have entered the Taoist guilds before the revolt of the lamas in 1723 and the catastrophe which befell Lamaism. It is easy, therefore, to understand the reluctance of the shamans to perform any rites in the temples dedicated to deities of Lamaism or to wear the crown of the five Dhyani. On the other hand they willingly perform rites in all kinds of Taoist temples, except the temples of Kuan-ti (God of War). I never obtained an explanation of this; in the whole Monguor region no Kuan-ti temple exists, while all the temples of the Monguors, which are the centers of the religious life of the village, are Taoist temples, and most of the protectors of the families belong to Taoism. Monguors cannot miss their shamans who only perform rites in Taoist temples.

CONCLUSION

756 [776] The conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the Monguor shamans honor two kinds of spirits—one, spirits belonging to Taoism, and the other, spirits belonging to their shamanism proper; that the Monguor shamans are related to the group of old Wu priests

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[58] V. A. Riasanovski, *Customary law of the Mongol tribes (Mongols, Buriats, Kalmuks)*, 29-35, 1929.

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existing in China from the dawn of history, who are 756 considered akin with the shamans of Central Asia; that the Monguor shamans probably entered the guild of the Taoist priests before the catastrophe which befell Lamaism in 1723 in order to save their institution, but that they still harbor the conviction that they are genuine shamans and not Taoist priests. The fact that during the performance of their rites they act as shamans, and not as Taoist priests, will give evidence for this assumption.

VII. THE KURTAIN

THE TYPE OF THE KURTAIN

Among the Monguors there is encountered still another type of possessed man whom they call a *Kurtain* (Tibetan, *Skurgdien*), and whom the Chinese call *Fa-la-shih* or *Ku-wai-tien*. He is found most frequently in genuine Monguor families, and plays an important role in the religious life of the Monguors.

A farmer, shepherd, or laborer—anybody, old or young, poor or rich, even a lama may become a Kurtain but well-to-do or rich men seldom do so. Several times I was told, by old Monguors, that in former times in San-ch'uan a woman subject of the Li T'u-ssu discharged that duty.

A Kurtain is a man who, all of a sudden, is seen to 756 be possessed by some spirit. It happens most often at 757 the time of a terrific storm, when he is helping combat the hail spirits, or at the feast in the spring when he sees a possessed shaman worked into a frenzy, or at night while attending the awful ceremonies which are performed to appease the avenging spirit of a suicide. Suddenly he starts speaking indistinctly, nervously gesticulating with his arms and hands, acting in an unusual way. Arriving at the temple supported and led by his companions, he declares himself to be possessed by so-and-so, a spirit who compels him to be his disciple. Such Kurtains, the Monguors told me, are usually the genuinely possessed. They always added, however, that they suspected the authenticity of Kurtains who become possessed by dint of weeks and weeks of exacting exercises in which they study how to imitate the behavior and trances of old Kurtains.

The "Kurtainship" is never inherited in the family. 756 The possessed is singled out by the spirit himself to be his disciple, and after his death, the spirit chooses another disciple in another family. Thus, no duty is imposed on the family to continue providing a successor to the Kurtain, and the honoring of this spirit. Kurtains are not like the shamans described above, whose families are bound to continue the service of the Twelve Tengris accepted by their ancestors. Shaman boys must receive a training by their masters in order to learn how to become possessed. Upon the genuine Kurtain, however, the possession is forced unexpectedly and then

[p. 90(B)]

for the first time the Kurtain starts an exacting training 756 which lasts for several weeks. This consists of dancing, vaulting, fencing practices, for he has to be in top trim in order to appear on the stage. He must discipline himself to the rules of a possessed man, in order to acquire the required disposition favorable to ulterior possession by his spirit.

It is customary for spirits to have only one disciple in the village. When he dies another appears, usually after a short time, but occasionally even after a long time, to discharge the duty. When a Kurtain grows old, his spirit abandons him and chooses a younger man to take his place. Kurtains, according to the Monguors, are very often really savage and violent when they are in the full bloom of their youth. The people are more scared of them than of shamans. Later, as they grow older, they become more moderate and calm. The genuine Kurtains, according to the Monguors, have their nerves easily excited. They do not look straight at the interlocutor, shun the company of men, and are rather fond of not talking. I got the same impression. Monguors do not trust much those who brag and boast about their prodigious achievements. It is also said that many Kurtains have their nerves on edge and feel excited and anxious between the fifteenth and the twentieth of the month. They feel hysterical and terrified at the time of storms.

BY WHAT SPIRITS ARE KURTAINS POSSESSED?

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The Kurtains, who are not very numerous, are said to be mostly possessed by spirits of Taoism, never by the Twelve Tengris of the shamans or by the Heavenly Spirit. It has already been said that many temples of the villages are dedicated to the "Wu-tao-shen," some to the dragon spirit, others to the spirit of horses, or the spirit of cows; a few to Ho-hu and to the Mother goddess, to the god of Riches and Wealth, but in all those temples there is always in evidence a nice sedan chair where the statue of the Mother goddess or the dragon god or Wu-tao is enthroned. The reason is that it is customary to have a sedan chair in each village to be carried in the processions. Most of the Monguors honor at home the picture of the same Taoist spirits, although some honor Lamaistic deities. It has been noted above that in a few villages there is also a Buddhist temple apart from the temple of the village, but these temples are never the center of the religious life of the village. No wonder that most of the Kurtains claim to be the disciples of Taoist spirits. A few Kurtains claim to be possessed by deities of Lamaism.

AUTHORIZATION OF TESTS OF THE KURTAINS

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The Monguors, having found themselves tricked many times, harbor a guarded and skeptical mood, and distrust new Kurtains. Since they suspect the au-

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756 571 thenticity of their possession, the Kurtain has to provide evidence of being possessed, which has to be tested and checked by qualified men, before they can enjoy the benefit of a "diploma" showing their credentials. Not only the Monguors but the lamas ask for a serious test.

756 787 571 If the Kurtain claims to be possessed by a Lamaist deity whose incarnation is living at the lamasery, the test is provided by this Living Buddha himself, who is the best qualified man for the examination. If there is no such incarnation at the lamasery, the Kurtain has to invite the Living Buddha, or a Fa-t'ai, to offer him a gift, and implore him to make the test. In case the Kurtain claims to be possessed by a spirit of Taoism, the chiefs of the village urge him to pass the test before a Living Buddha anyhow, for only the Living Buddhas are supposed to possess the required yardsticks *ad hoc*. Old Kurtains cannot test the authenticity of new Kurtains. In the event the Kurtain declares himself to be possessed by a deity of Lamaism, the community of the village defrays the expenses required for the test. If he declares himself to be possessed by a spirit of Taoism he has to defray the expenses himself.

756 787 The test of a Kurtain possessed by a Taoist spirit is carried out as follows: the Living Buddha, who sits on his throne under the porch of the main temple with all the lamas, while the temple yard is packed to capacity with a curious and interested crowd, orders the Kurtain to sit beneath the steps.

The Kurtain wears the usual gown worn by the Monguors (seldom a red one) bound round the waist with a sash of red cloth. On a piece of red cloth, covering his head, is fixed a small copper mirror, shining on his forehead; a large red ribbon encircles his head, on which are sewn a lot of small bells. If he happens to be possessed by the spirit Wu tao shen, the spirit of the five roads, he wears a crown of that spirit. Over a large "cloud collar,"[1] which comes down over his shoulders, passes a red rope to which is attached a bigger copper mirror adorned by red, yellow, green, and blue ribbons or *khata*, dangling on his chest. On his back are sewn a couple of red and green handkerchiefs.

[516] He sits erect on a low Chinese table, his legs always sprawled apart, imitating the exact posture of the god of the Five Roads, even though he may be possessed by the dragon god. The representation of this Chinese warrior, his theatrical attitude seen everywhere in all the temples, must have impressed the Monguors to a very large extent. On the knees of the Kurtain is

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[1] This collar seems to hint at a part of the garments worn by the old Mongol princes "Ils (les princes) ont encore une autre forme (l'habit): un collet nommé 'Jaqa' sur les épaules et sur le dos, et qui finit des deux cotés en pointe aigue; il ressemble à un echiquier. Ce bord pend sur les deux épaules. Il est toujours fait en brocart ou en peau de zibeline." H. Serruys, *Pei-lou fong-sou*. Les coûtumes des esclaves septentrionaux, *Monumenta Serica* **10**: 145, 1945. For the "cloud collar" (*Yün-chien*), see S. Cammann, The symbolism of the cloud collar motif, *Art Bull.*, March, 1951.

[p. 91 (B)]

placed a sword, and near him a dagger and a long whip. 756
He never uses the drum, which is the specific tool of 187
the shamans.

Shamans, Kurtains, and all kinds of people possessed by good spirits, are everywhere accustomed to assuming the duty of defending their customers against evil spirits. They are fighters and protectors and therefore use all the weapons befitting the job. The Kurtain, in his theatrical attitude, is most aggressive; in his acts he is violent and savage. Shamans, however, by means of their elegant dances, first try to soothe the ruffled feathers of the malignant spirits and to make their spirit protectors feel well disposed.

A fire of cypress twigs is lit before the Kurtain, who prays some version of Om Mani or the *swork'a* prayer of his spirit protector, inviting him to descend into him, while the lamas beat the drums. The Kurtain becomes excited and starts shaking his head, causing the small bells attached to his headdress to ring, making sounds like the bells on the bridle of a running horse. He shakes them more and more furiously, for a long time, becoming more and more excited, and is supposed to be possessed. The shaking of the head is the specific behavior of the Kurtain; hence the Chinese all over the country call him the "head shaking Kurtain"—*Yao t'eou fa-la-shih*. Then the Living Buddha starts asking him about the danger of hailstorms in the next summer, about the next harvest, the peace in the country, in the village, in the lamasery. Then, jumping up on his feet, he does a really furious dance. Bounding savagely, he works himself into a frenzy and starts playing with his sword, cutting and fencing against imagined spirits. He grabs the whip and beats it against the ground with deafening blows. Chasing and pursuing spirits, he jumps in all directions pretending to pierce with his dagger one enemy after another. Finally, dripping with sweat, having used all his weapons, one after another, he is ordered by the Living Buddha to sit down and keep quiet.

Then the Living Buddha asks him of whose spirit he is the disciple, and asks for explanations and the history of his spirit. In the event that the answers satisfy the Buddha and the dances are in conformity with the choreographic rules, the Buddha puts a *khatag* around his neck and declares that he is the genuine disciple of so-and-so (a spirit). Holding in his hands some ropes of cloth, dyed red, he blows on them several times, as Living Buddhas do when they bestow special blessings. He ties them around the neck of the dancer, takes a handful of barley and throws it on him, saying: "Spirit so-and-so is truly your spirit, act accordingly in order to honor him." The Kurtain is then declared officially to be the accredited disciple of the spirit, and all the evidence seems to substantiate the fact of his possession. Having succeeded in the test, the esteem of the people follows the Kurtain in the wake of his achievement. His prestige is enhanced, and surrounded with an aura of success, he will start a new career.

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However, if he does not satisfy the requirements, and does not acquit himself creditably, if his answers are wrong and his dances inadequate and inelegant, he fails abjectly. The angry Buddha, rebuking and snubbing him, pulls off one of his boots and throws it contemptuously and disdainfully at the head of the Kurtain, upbraiding his impudent audacity, saying: "You are not possessed by a spirit, but by an ox, go on." All hopes of the candidate are dashed forever; the trust of the people in him is uprooted. He goes away discomfited, dishonorably evicted, and the possession is finished. The Kurtain cannot withstand the verdict of a Buddha who blocks his way. Twice I attended such a test, once at the monastery of T'ien-t'ang and once at Ch'ie-bzan. I inquired about the fantastic tales current all over the country, concerning the fact that the authenticity of the Kurtains can be tested by making them lick white-hot iron, pierce their chest with a sword, walk and sit on thorns. Always the answers were that in olden times when the Kurtains were more potent, they could stand such tests, but the present Kurtains are not made of the same stuff as in olden times, and therefore these tests can no longer be made.

TESTS OF THE KURTAINS POSSESSED BY A LAMAIST DEITY

The Kurtains possessed by Lamaist deities seem to have possessions of a lower grade. The Kurtain of Seerkok was said to be possessed by the deity Kortong (?) whose incarnation was one of the minor Living Buddhas staying at the monastery. The Kurtain of Erh-ku-lung was possessed by the minor deity Niebturk bzan whose incarnation, of second or third rank, was living at the monastery. The pictures of both deities, which I saw at the Karwa of these incarnations, represented the familiar type of the hundreds of Buddhas quietly sitting crosslegged absorbed in meditation, but the men they possessed were none the less furious Kurtains. Learned lamas did not have any knowledge of Kurtains possessed by the so-called guardians of the faith, which are pictured as terrible, cruel warriors. They asserted that all the possessions were manifestations of minor deities, and they could not easily explain how furious Kurtains were possessed by peaceful deities. Concerning the question of the possession of a lama by a Lamaist deity, they deemed it possible, but did not remember such cases in the country.

I never had the opportunity to attend a test ceremony for the kind of Kurtains possessed by Lamaist deities, but the information acquired from Living Buddhas, lamas, and laymen, seemed to show that little difference existed between the tests of both kinds of Kurtains. The subjects, their avocation, and training are similar, as well as the theatrical performance in the court of the main temple. The Kurtain is attired in the same way and uses the same weapons in the same way, but he must wear on his head the crown of the five Dhyana [115]

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Buddhas. The special *swork'a* or prayer honoring his 756 deity is read by the lamas, and the Kurtain is proclaimed 787 to be a genuinely possessed man. Then he is ordered to memorize his *swork'a* and to recite it before each performance, it being an invitation to his deity to descend into him.

Then follow the usual recommendations given to all Kurtains about continence on the day of a performance, not to act when his wife is giving birth and at mourning [844] time, not to indulge in wine, to keep his weapons (sword, whip, and dagger) in a decent place and not to use them for other purposes; to give a performance at the monastery at the annual pageant time and in the families where his deity is specially honored, and always stress is put on the obligation to be loyal, honest, and dependable, so as not to cast a blight on the institution. Every time I heard this last recommendation, I remembered what the Monguors had said so many times, that among the Kurtains more dubious fellows are encountered than among the shamans, and for that reason the shamans are invited more by them than the Kurtains. They always added the story of the famous Kurtain of Toolong, which was seared in their mind. It seems really typical and sheds an unfavorable light on the institution.

Many years ago, the Kurtain of Toolong used to 756 predict whether there would be outbreaks of arson in 685 autumn when the crops were heaped upon the threshing floor. In this way he earned a pretty good living, because the crops of the people who had invited him for the performance of his rites were preserved and those of the incredulous people were burned at night. The whole country was really disturbed. However, suspicions arose and the arsonist was taken redhanded one night. He turned out to be the old father of the Kurtain. The chief and the elders of the village hung the old man by his thumbs from a tree and he received a well-deserved lashing to make him reveal the instigator [627] of the arson. Reeling with dizziness and pain, welts and bruises all over his body, the father accused his son, and the Kurtain was hung up and tortured. The infuriated villagers came within a hair of killing him. His mandate of disciple of the spirit was gone forever. Such events are very prejudicial to the Kurtains. They cast a blemish on their group and are commented on all over the country for years, and so the saying goes that there are few good genuine Kurtains, and for that reason all have to be tested.[2]

Some of the Kurtains not only upset the villagers 756 once in a while, but even land the monasteries in serious 579 trouble. A fact well known in the country runs, that on the fifteenth of the first moon in 1914, the lamas of the important lamasery of Seerkok invited their Kurtain, possessed by the deity Kortong, to the ceremony carried out in honor of the deity, with great pomp and display.

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[2] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1238, notes a similar case of a *W'u* arsonist.

The feast is celebrated all over the country. The 756
Kurtain is dressed by the lamas in a splendid, long green 579
gown with large sleeves, cut according to the style of the gown worn by Taoist priests. On his back are fixed a couple of small flags, and on his head he wears a helmet. He wears a sword, and holds in his hands a bow and three arrows. He is costumed like the warriors often seen in the theatrical exhibitions performed by Chinese actors.

The Living Buddha Kortong, incarnation of the deity, opened the pageant in the main temple, sitting on his throne presiding over the ceremony. The lamas, cross-legged, sat in a circle in the temple. The Kurtain sat on his low Chinese table in the center of the gathering of the monks with his legs sprawled wide apart. The throng crowded into the forecourt, following the display by looking through the open doors of the temple. The lamas started singing in unison the *swork'a,* and the Kurtain shook his head, ringing his small bells. Becoming excited, he danced his furious dance, worked himself into a frenzy, and played with his sword, whip, and dagger. Then he ran out of the temple, shot three arrows in the air, drank a draught of ox blood out of a bucket and spat it on some handfuls of barley which he threw in the direction of the audience, who tried to catch them in the skirts of their gowns. These grains
are supposed to cure all kinds of illness and procure [842]
fertility for the women. However, the grains once they fall on the ground lose their magical efficacy.

Then followed the customary questions. The Kurtain all of a sudden again became so mad and wild as to unsheath his sword, and killed an employee of the tribunal of the subprefecture of Ta-t'ung, who was attending the show. The Kurtain fled after his savage exploit and disappeared. The lamasery was saddled with the trouble and had to pay a very substantial indemnity. This fact, well known all over the country, is always recalled when Monguors talk about the violence and ferocity of the possessed Kurtains. It is no wonder that, during the exhibitions of Kurtains in the village temples, some people are often frightened out of their wits, take to their heels in panic, and leave the temple.

It happens more often that the Kurtain troubles the 756
feast of the spring, performed by shamans in the village. 578
At the moment when the people are devoutly and happily listening to the prophesies of the shamans, concerning the auspicious prospects for the harvest, a Kurtain arises and furiously asserts that his spirit has revealed to him that terrible hailstorms will destroy the crops of the village. In the southern valley, in the village called "the Eleventh House of the Li T'u-ssu," in 1914, a serious fight started between the shamans and the Kurtain, who was carried away unconscious. The Kurtain brought suit against the shamans at the Chinese court. The prefect delegated the guild of the Taoist priests to settle this matter between religious people.

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756 578 The Kurtain was obliged to apologize to the shamans, offering a sheep, and also had to offer a sheep to the deity who protected the village.

756 292 During the exhibitions at Erh-ku-lung, the Kurtain was decked in a splendid, long green gown, belonging to the lamasery and fashioned according to that of the Taoist priests. He wore on his head the mitre of a Living Buddha. He did not wear his helmet or the sword; his appearance was less warrior-like and terrible than that of the Kurtain of Seerkok, although he seemed still to represent the type of Chinese theatrical general, with flags on his back, sitting with open sprawled legs, in spite of having had the Buddhist mitre on his head and the Buddhist staff in his hand when the exhibition started. Furthermore, the ceremonies were the same, with cypress fire, recital of the *swork'a*, drumbeating, head shaking with ringing bells, prophesying, whip, and dagger.

756 571 The lamaseries are glad to have a Kurtain, because they enhance the interest at the annual pageant. These yearly exhibitions seem to be the principal job of a Kurtain possessed by a lama deity. Once in a while, however, when troubles occur, when the lamasery is sued at court, he is invited to prophesy the issue of the case, but most of the time the lamas solve their own problems. His position at the lamasery seems to be of a very secondary order, according to what lamas say.

Later there will be described the role the Kurtain plays in the community of the village, and in the private life of the Monguors.

756 171 Among the Wu of the present time in China is encountered a category of possessed men and women who seem to be of the same type as the Monguor Kurtains, who are not admitted into the group of the Wu (as the Kurtains are not admitted into the group of the shamans) because they did not pass the traditional tests of the Wu and did not receive the initiation. It sometimes happens that some of them transfer their business to their sons.[3] Their original possession, their behavior during the possession, are very similar with those of the Kurtains,[4] sitting on a stool before an altar, drowsily staring, yawning, shaking the head, furiously playing with a sword, prophesying and expelling evil spirits.[5] They are called *fa chang*, "Chief of Magic," while the real Wu is called *shih kung*, "Master," or *fa shih*, "Master of magic."

114 My data, as given above, seem not to tally completely with the very valuable study of F.-Dominik Schröder in *Anthropos* **47**: 27–33, 237–248, 1952, but they are based on notes collected among the Monguors, and among lamas who lived over practically the whole region, and may contribute to an understanding of the subject.

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[3] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1263.

[4] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1274.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1276.

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RITE OF THE WHITE TIGER

The most important rite against hail is the one called 776
the Rite of the White Tiger, performed by the shaman. 756 ●
Once in a while a Taoist priest and even a Red lama [792]
try to enact it. However, the following year a shaman
is invited again by the distrustful villagers, for the rite 789
belongs to the black magical art and is more in keeping
with the attributions of the shaman.

It is performed in May, before the time of the hailstorms. The original and complete rite is not enacted every year, but certainly it will never be omitted the year after the crops have been destroyed. If a year passes peacefully, then the following year only a supplementary rite will be enacted, strengthening the original one. If for many years the crops have been preserved, the original rite will nevertheless be performed again, for fear the original magical power may have faded.

It will be noted that the shaman deposited, in the [774]
temple under the bushel, the bottle he used for capturing a human soul with which he nurtured the spirits. The seventh day after the performance of the spring rites, the chief of the village and the elders go to the temple to take the bottle and bushel away, and they ring the temple bell. A member of each family arrives carrying incense sticks; the sedan chair, with the statue inside, is moved into the middle of the courtyard of the temple. All those present, holding incense sticks, kneel before the sedan chair, and the chief of the village asks the god whether it is certain the crops will be reaped peacefully, and whether the hail will be certain not to play havoc. Despite the formal promises of the shaman seven days ago, suspicions are still harbored. Then according to the ceremony already noted (the sedan chair crushing the carriers, etc.) and according to the pointers given by the spirit, the chief of the village decides to invite the shaman.

The shaman and three or four of his confreres examine the country and fix the place where the rite is to be performed. It is always within the boundaries of the village, on a hill or hillock, usually at the northwest corner, because hailstorms usually come from that direction. An auspicious day is chosen for the performance, and a list of all the required items for the rite is given by the shamans to the chief of the village. Here is what the list transmitted to the chief of the village of Toolong by the shaman contained: 20 black bowls; 15 wooden stakes, 2 feet in length; 15 tiles, 15 bricks, 15 eggs; 15 wooden planks, two feet long and 2 inches thick; 5 small hand mills, 5 axles and a cart wheel; an iron chain, which had been used to tie a dog, and a lock; 5 bell neckstraps with bells which had been used on horses; a mill stone, the corpse of a boy or baby, a living white dog and a white cock, water drawn from 10 different wells, 5 lions made of glazed pottery, used to adorn roofs; 6 earthen jars, among them 2 of bigger size, and a kettle; a pivot of a millstone, a pivot of threshing rolls, 2 threshing rolls, a plowshare, a harrow,

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some iron taken from 4 city gates, some earth gathered 789
on four city walls, earth collected on 5 different moun- 796
tains, some earth taken in the prison of the city, 12 756
kinds of medicines; a small wooden white tiger, his rider painted black; 2 Buddha images, 2 mantles worn by statues in temples, bones of a dog, 2 skulls of a wolf and of a fox, a human skeleton, a pair of filthy trousers of a young woman, a living cat, a snake and a wooden raven. (Is it possible to imagine a more heterogeneous collection of items?)

On all these items are painted cabalistic designs, which are encircled with vermilion and painted with a brush dipped in the mixed blood of a white dog, cat, and cock.[1] All the items, in order to be effective, are to be stolen from other villages. Young folk are designated by the chief of the village to steal the required items, and if they do not succeed in the job, they have to buy the objects with their own money. If such thieves are accused at the court of the T'u-ssu, the community has to indemnify the defendant. At the times when these rites are performed, everybody in the country watches at night. All the stolen items are locked up in the temple and guarded at night by elder people, whose sleep is not so sound as that of young men. Deep secrecy is kept about the required items.

On the evening of the day fixed, the shamans arrive, clothed in the black gown; the chief of the shamans alone wears the flowery coat. All the shamans wear the black cap with long tail. After sunset the villagers arrive and the temple is closed tightly. A hog and a sheep are offered, while the attendants prostrate themselves, holding incense sticks, and the shamans dance and beat drums. In the deepest silence, they go to the place prepared for the rite, holding banners. All the heterogeneous items required are loaded into a cart. A hole fifteen feet in depth has been dug beforehand. Its upper part is shaped in a circle, the middle part is square, and the lowest part triangular.

The chief of the shamans descends into the pit alone.
His whole body is enveloped in red cloth; he wears a [292
cincture made of hemp, such as the people wear at 764]
funerals. Holding in his hands the whip and the ritual knife, he takes off his shoes and hose and puts on shoes made from hemp ropes. His pigtail is unplaited, and his hair disheveled. Some youngsters, their heads enveloped in a red cloth, descend with him into the pit. They communicate by signs and tokens, for it is forbidden to utter a single word inside the pit. The shamans beat the drums outside the pit.

In the center of the triangle one of the biggest jars 782
is deposited, inside of which are put the corpse of the 756
baby or boy, and the different sorts of earth. All items 796
are covered with a piece of red cloth and the kettle is 789
inverted over them. The chain is wrapped around the jar and fastened with the lock. The pair of trousers,

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[1] Johann Frick, How blood is used in magic and medicine in Ch'inghai Province, *Anthropos* 46 (5–6): 954, 1951.

the skeleton, bones and skulls are deposited around the 756
jar, with the living snake enclosed in a basket. The 796
triangle is filled with earth, level with the base of the 782
square. Then five stakes are fixed in the earth, and 789
bowls, eggs, bricks, tiles, lions and hand mills are put around them. In the midst are erected the threshing rolls, on which is put the millstone, in the center of which is fixed a stake to support the cart wheel, to which the planks are nailed; the interspaces are filled with the remaining items. The whole is covered with boughs, and the pit is filled with earth level with the ground.

The attendants start howling like madmen, jumping and leaping around the pit in the pitch dark night, brandishing banners, while shamans dance, and beat drums and cymbals. The cart axle, sharpened to a stake, is fixed in the earth upon the pit; on it is written "Throne of the White Tiger." Some bowls placed upside down and bricks and tiles are put around the stake and the tiger; four more stakes are fixed in the ground according to the four points of the compass, and a mound is erected upon the pit. Next to the mound is placed a big wooden box containing the living white dog; a small mound is erected upon it so that the dog may see the light and breathe air through a hole. The dog will live for some days; it will howl and finally die.[3] On the other side of the big mound is erected a similar small mound, opposite the dog's mound, in which is

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[3] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 271, note 166, note that both the Liao (Khitan) and the Chin (Jurchen) sacrificed dogs. M. Granet, *Danses et légendes*, 527, records that in ancient China men used to pull the ears of a dog to make him bark, in order to drive away the bird-demon. W. Koppers, Der Hund in der Mythologie der Zirkumpazifischen Völker, *Wiener Beiträge*, 386, 1930, records that the Yao tribe buried a live dog, together with a live thief, in order that the spirit of the thief should stay in the grave; also 378, the cow used at the sacrifice for the dog ancestor of the Yao had to be stolen, in the same way that the Monguors have to steal the dog for the hail rite, and other items. [71]

Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 92, a similar case of burying a dog alive is noted: "In case of some very bad disease the Manchus sometimes bury a live dog and cat near the entrance of the house. The dog and cat may move, which may be seen a certain time after the burial when the earth is reopened; it is considered as a very bad sign if they should go away together." He further notes, p. 92, that souls of dead people are supposed to eat dog meat; p. 210, that dogs carry the souls in the lower world; p. 179, that dog blood, like dog skins, make the clan spirits run away; dog meat is tabooed. Doolittle, *op. cit.*, 231, notes in China a heavenly dog who devours small children and is combated by a giant, represented surrounded by children shooting arrows against a dog walking on the clouds. The barking of a dog at night frightens the evil spirits. De Harlez, *op. cit.*, 464, records that the crowing of the rooster frightens the spirits at night and in the morning. A wooden rooster is put above the entrance of the courtyard to frighten the evil spirits. A living rooster is attached to the coffin when it is carried to the grave, in order that it may frighten evil spirits. In time of epidemics a white living rooster is carried, fixed on top of a stick, in the processions. See also Eliade, *op. cit.*, 405; Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen*, *op. cit.* 1: 29, 38; the same, *Randvölker Chinas*, *op. cit.*, 38.

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entombed the living cock in a box. It will live and die 756
under the same circumstances as the dog. 796
I was told by several reliable old men that years ago 782
an old Chinese begger instead of a dog had been buried
alive, and that once in a while a little child, stolen in a 789
far-off village, is still buried if, for three or more years in succession, hail has struck the village. The shaman in such cases requires it. Mothers told me that the elders always enjoin them to watch the small children with special care during the time these rites are performed.

When the rite is completed all the participants face the northwest, the direction from which the hailstorms usually come, and throw stones at the evil spirits, howling like madmen, uttering the most obscene threats, and taking the wildest aggressive attitudes, while the shamans crack their whips and dance a threatening dance, conjuring the evil spirit in wild gyrations. The wild act is performed three times. On the spot a big fire is lit with cypress boughs, and all the attendants, shamans included, jump over it in order that the evil spirits may no longer follow them, and in order to get purified. After a last dance in the temple yard, the whole audience enjoy themselves, making fun, eating the pork and mutton, and drinking plenty of wine.

During the whole month, day and night, corvées are imposed by the chief of the village on different shifts of four young men, relieving one another, in order to watch the mound. A small cabin is built for the watchers. Nobody is allowed to approach the mound during the whole month.

This rite gives an insight into the power wielded by the shamans and their controlling influence upon the people, who even resort to human sacrifices, when required by them. The secret about these facts is strictly kept, men are enjoined not to talk about it with women and children, and only after years, and in general terms, do the facts incidentally leak out. Among the Twelve Tengris is the famous White Tiger, the dread and terror of evil spirits, and for that reason the rite is called the Rite of the White Tiger.

THE RITES OF THE TAOISTS AGAINST HAIL

The Taoists are mostly invited to perform their rite 782
in neighboring villages inhabited by Chinese. Once in 789
a while they are invited by Monguors who recanted their origin, but often, when the hail has struck these villages, the more efficient Monguor shaman with a greater reputation is invited the following year to try his rites, even by Chinese.

The Taoists use three kinds of rites: the rite of the spirit Wang-lin-kuan, of the goddess Niang-Niang, and of the five thunderbolts (wu-tien-cheng). Here, also, is a mystifying thing. Although the Taoists in the country do not overtly honor the White Tiger, they always write the name of the White Tiger on the stake small rapids), 30 *li* east of Hsining, causing the region 796 of Hsining, which was a large lake in former times, to 782 dry up. He is said to have been a beautiful man, with strong classical features, taller than the men of today, and endowed with fabulous strength. He played with huge rocks as children play with marbles, and was very fond of two enormous dogs which he tied to the rocks of Hsiao hsia with chains so heavy that only he could move them. He is represented in the temple as a man of gigantic proportions, sitting on a large throne wearing yellow robes and cap, and the insignia of an official.

Father Grootaers [11] encountered this god in sixteen Erh-lang temples in Wan-Ch'üan, and notes that Erh-lang, son of Li Ping of the Han dynasty (A.D. 25–220) was famous for his works on dikes in Ssu-ch'uan Province, and became an object of the cult. However, he notes that another Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien of the Sung dynasty (beginning of the twelfth century A.D.) is also renowned for the same kind of work, and is represented with a dog at his feet. This detail, encountered in the temples of Wan ch'üan, enabled Father Grootaers, because of an inscription found on a fresco in the grottoes of P'u-fo ssu, to assume that the Erh-lang of Wan ch'üan must be the son of Yang Chien, object of a cult in Hopei Province. It seems possible that, on account of the popular tradition, the Erh-lang of Hsining with his enormous two dogs and heavy chains must also be Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien. However, how Erh-lang became the object of a cult in Hsining, and at what time, are facts shrouded in mystery. Anyway, Erh-lang, the beautiful god, is said to enjoy the annual visits of the fine goddesses of Sha t'ang Valley and to extend his protection from hail and blessings upon the crops in thanks for their gracious call.

The observance by the young people of twenty-one 821 days of continence and the restraint from indulgence in 782 wine and garlic and onions, the sending of the goddesses for a call on a god, and the custom of locking them up for a night in the temple in order to court the sympathy of the god and to reap the benefit of his protection, open up some chinks, letting in some light into the disturbed religious frame of mind of the people. Significant also is the extent of the fear of hail which makes them resort to all available means in order to get help and assistance against it.

OLD CUSTOM RECALLED

Old Monguors always recall that in former times, 789 when the shamans were still proficient in their art, it 756 was said they never failed to combat the hail. They threw stones stained with blood of white dogs in the direction of the hail spirits, shot with bloody arrows and moved stuffed horse skins. But now the shamans

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[11] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 262–263. See *Folklore Studies Supplement No. 1:* 229, 1952, Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien is said to have buried two of the nine suns in the region of Kui-te (south of Hsining), and the hot wells existing in the region are thus explained. See Eberhard, *op. cit.*, *Lokalkulturen*, *Fuchs* 1: 40.

no longer have the stuff of shamans, and the belief of 789
the young folk in the gods is waning and fading away. 756

OFFER OF BONES TO THE SPIRITS OF HAIL

On the last night of the year, a group of youngsters 782
is called by the chief of the village and ordered to gather 789
sackfuls of bones and to carry them to the mountain 796
top, from where devasting hailstorms usually come destroying the crops in summer. They are ordered to burn the bones to the "spirits of the hail" in order to thank them for their protection during the year and to beg them to extend their protection for the next year. Around New Year's, every family kills sheep or pigs, and bones are available everywhere. All kinds of bones are satisfactory, provided a full sack is secured. It is known that in the arctic culture the peculiar offer to heaven consisted of the offer of the skull and the long bones of animals (for bones contain marrow). It was the offer to the dispenser of life.[12]

Many times I asked for explanations about this rite, but nobody could give any. The answer always was the same: we are accustomed to do so in order that the crops may be protected against hail, and the hail spirits be propitious next year.

LAST REGULATIONS OF THE CHIEF OF THE VILLAGES

In the evening the shamans and the villagers return after having strengthened all the old mounds. The chief [622] of the village makes a stereotyped speech: "In former times, the great emperor of all the Mongols divided his subjects into groups, attached to the service of the spirits of the temple. In keeping with that tradition of our ancestors we designate today groups of two men each who, day and night, will relieve one another and will stay at the temple in order to give warning of impending hailstorms. The two men who will be on duty during the next day, will sleep the night before in the temple, for continence is required of the watchers. When a storm appears in the northwest, they will beat the drums and cymbals, blow the horn, and ring the bell. Another group which we designate today will, when the bell rings, instantly leave their homes and run hurriedly to the principal ritual mound carrying with them the god of the temple in the sedan chair and all the other gods, the drums, cymbals and horn, and banners. They will take with them some black bowls, which will be placed upside down on the center of the mound. In the temple incense and cypress boughs will be offered, the throne (stake) of the god, erected in front of the temple gate, will be thrust deeper in the ground, and the bowls on top of the roof of the entrance will be turned upside down." The speech is finished. The other gods mentioned in the speech are stakes, octagonal in shape, the upper part of which represents a human head. (Taoists use octagonal stakes when they perform the rites against

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[12] Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 3: 542.

[p. 103(B)]

hail.) A grim, ghastly mask and a piece of red cloth 782
are fixed on the head of the stake. A small Chinese 789
table, covered with strips of red cloth to which is at- 796
tached a copper mirror, is considered to be a spirit in the same way.

FIGHTING THE HAILSTORMS

When the hailstorm appears threatening and the evil 731
spirits are about to loose their avenging bolts, the 789
youngsters on the top of the hill wave banners, beat drums and cymbals, blow the horn, brandish aggressively the sedan chair with the god sitting inside, and the stake gods, in the direction of the storm, howl, curse the evil spirits by means of the most obscene vocabulary, and take obscene attitudes in order to frighten them. I saw such a scene in the village of T'ao chia chai, a Chinese village of which some people were Christians, and was told that the Monguors act in just the same way.

If the storm is avoided, incense is burned, prostrations are made, and the group comes back, proud and high spirited because their performance achieved victory. But if the storm breaks with lightning, lighting up the whole valley, and thunder rumbling terrifyingly, pouring down torrents of water and rattling hail, the whole group starts fleeing in confusion, with the sedan chair and all the gods, straight down the hill, through the fields and the rivers to the temple. It is said that when this happens the youngsters lose control over the gods they are carrying; that the gods, defeated by mightier ones, unable to withstand the struggle, abandon the battlefield and themselves flee, irresistibly pulling with them their carriers, without caring for roads, precipices, or rivers. The terror throws the village into confusion and consternation. The gods could not stand against the terrible evil spirits of the hail; hopes are frustrated and the crops destroyed. The prospect of bad times, with privations and sufferings, haunts every family.

SHAMANS AND STATUES OF THE TEMPLES

The statues in temples are assumed by the Monguors 778
to be the seat of the spirits. Several facts have already 532
been recorded, in keeping with that assumption. Statues 756
decide about the invitation of the shaman for the performance of the new rites against hail. They pull their carriers irresistibly over fields and precipices, or make themselves so heavy as to become immovable and crush the carriers under their weight. According to the Monguors, the unusual power residing in the statue is due to special rites performed by the shamans.

In the stomach of every statue is a square opening capable of being closed and opened. Every time a new statue is made, the shaman is invited to animate it by means of dancing, beating drums, and inserting in the hole a live snake, a live raven, a live frog, and the intestines of a sheep and a pig. All these items have to

be purified by smoking over cypress boughs, and a 778
sacrifice of a sheep or a hog is required. Every three 532
years the stomach is opened and the decayed animating 756
items are removed. New ones must take their place, because after three years their power has faded away. The Monguors invite the shaman most proficient in this art to perform the rite, since magical efficacy does not seem to be the same among all shamans and for that reason statues are assumed to be the seats of the spirits.

The statues in Lamaist temples need, in the same way, magical bowels; however, the lamas put Tibetan texts inside the statues. The magical power of the statues lasts as long as the Tibetan texts are uninjured.

The role played by the snake in the therapy of debilitated spirits is noteworthy. It will be seen later that the old mountain spirit of the Obo, protector and proprietor of the valley of Sha-t'ang, was healed and rejuvenated by a lot of medicines, among which the snake ranked first.

The table often mentioned above is said to be the seat of the White Tiger, and is used everywhere. It is a low Chinese table, adorned with strips of red cloth or silk and a small copper mirror in front. The four legs represent the legs of the tiger, while on the underpart of the table are painted the intestines and genitalia. It must be animated by the shaman. Often used instead of the sedan chair, it is carried by four men whom it crushes beneath it, or pulls fore or aft when asked for a decision.

CONCLUSION

This chapter gives supporting evidence for the as- 821
sumption that in the fabric of the religious life of the 829
Monguors, the struggle against the hail spirits and the 771
means of avoiding harm from them are a real obsession and play an overwhelming part. All summer this fear troubles the peace of mind, and mars the happiness especially of older people and chiefs of families. No wonder that every day around noon Monguors start examining the northwest corner of the sky. Everybody, putting on a brave front, brags and boasts about the efficacy of the rites, trying to bolster their wavering courage, but telling beads and muttering "Om Mani," hoping that finally Buddha and "Heaven and all the spirits" will help them.

Another conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the shamanist White Tiger bears the brunt of the struggle against the evil spirits of hail, and that the Taoist god of the Five Roads and his associates who are magnificiently enthroned in all the village temples, on whose walls they score brilliant successes defeating the evil hail spirits, play a very modest secondary role in the rank and file of the other good spirits and Buddhist deities supposed to lend a hand in the struggle. The Monguors have remained as convinced shamanists as the Turco-Mongol tribes of former times.

The struggle against the hail spirits by an entire com-

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The day before the feast, a couple of shamans arrive with their apprentices, to paint and paste paper flags and streamers, print flower designs and inscriptions, and prepare the "thrones" of the spirits expected to attend the meeting. A "throne" is a sheet of red paper on which are printed the words, "throne of god so-and so." It is pasted on the wall of the courtyard of the temple. A large sheet, that is a big throne, is prepared for the souls of the la[illegible]hree generations of deceased villagers. In the middle of the courtyard the shamans erect a pole thirty feet high,[2] to the top of which is pasted a triangular banner made of red paper, trimmed with yellow paper strips. Under the banner is fixed a circle covered with yellow paper; a bit lower is hooked horizontally a two-pronged fork with two rolls impaled on the prongs, and nine streamers with flower designs and inscriptions pasted on its handle. Supplementary streamers, always attached to the pole, are offered in thanksgiving for a happy delivery or recovery from illness. In front of the pole a long table is prepared for the offerings. The statues of the gods honored in the temple and the god sitting in the sedan chair are set out in front of the table. Before the "throne of the souls of the deceased villagers" are placed the offerings of the community: tea, wine, rolls, raisins, noodles, meat. A long rope is fixed on the roof of the entrance gate, and is pulled to the top of the pole, from which it falls down on the long offering table. Halfway down the rope from the top of the pole, a long bag of cloth is attached containing nuts, peas, and jujubes, all made of dough. The rope is called the "highway rope" (*ma-lu-sheng*), the rope along which the spirits will come down and depart. It is made with hemp shackles and is supposed to be endowed with celebrated magical power, since the spirits walked on it. The shackles are very effective talismans for the protection of the sick and small children.

At midnight the two shamans and their apprentices honor "Heaven and all the spirits" in the courtyard. [756] ● They offer on a plate small rolls in which are fixed candles made of paper imbued with oil. They also light some butter lamps, set off fire crackers, prostrate themselves and beat drums and cymbals. They take a meal and then go to rest.

The feast, organized in order to reap a good harvest, starts by honoring "Heaven and all the spirits" at night, under the twinkling stars, in the courtyard of the temple. Shamans devoted to the cult of evil spirits 796 would not perform that rite, say the Monguors. Neither the chiefs of the village, the elders, nor the people attend this midnight rite. Around eight or nine o'clock the following morning, six or eight more shamans arrive. Drums are beaten, and the chief of the village and the elders arrive to greet them. All the villagers go to the temple. Most of them bring their private offerings of rolls, wine, incense sticks, paper, while some among them paste on the wall of the temple the throne of their own ancestors and place some offerings before it. The temple is crowded to capacity with people dressed in their festival best. The shamans finish their meal, drink wine, and start the rites with the invocation of the spirits.

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[2] The pole and the rope play an important role in the ceremonies performed by the shamans in the village temple, and in those performed in private families in honor of their guardian deities. Pole and rope assured communication between the gods and man. Pole and rope must be planted and attached by the shamans in order to be efficacious. The manikan pole (see above, p. 95, n. 1), planted in the courtyard is said by many people to have the same meaning. Because the pole and rope rites are so unusually suggestive, they are enjoyed by the people, and their use is widely spread all over Asia by shamans. Shirokogoroff notes the rites among the Tungus (*Psychomental complex*, 336), etc. Eliade, *op. cit.*, 120, 368, 381.

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FIRST DAY

INVOCATION OF THE SPIRITS

The shamans, wearing the black gown, flower-decorated silk coat, and the crown of the god of the Five Roads, stand erect before the pole and start beating the drums. The villagers prostrate themselves nine times toward the pole, in time with the command of the chief of the village, holding incense sticks in joined hands, and sit on their heels waiting. The elders sit in the first rows. The shamans start dancing before the pole, keeping time with the beating of the drums and cymbals; they become more and more excited, when all of a sudden their chief points at the rope fixed on top of the roof of the entrance gate and cries: "Here they are, the Twelve Tengris!" and continuing to point at the rope, he follows them with his finger and eyes, just as if he were seeing the spirits climbing along the rope that reaches to the top of the pole. He grasps the end of the rope lying on the table, and runs with it, straight to the throne (sheet of red paper on the wall) prepared for the Twelve Tengris and their leader. He holds reverently the end of the rope against the throne, so that the spirits may step unhurt onto the throne. The other shamans and the apprentices run to the throne and prostrate themselves; the whole audience prostrates itself with incense sticks in the hands and the chief shaman starts greeting the spirits: "We are so glad to honor you"—and the audience repeats each time the words of the shamans and prostrates itself—"You must be tired from the long journey. . . . It is kind of you to have come so far. . . . We are very happy to honor you. . . . Please sit down among us, the throne is a poor one, but be so kind as to excuse us. . . ." Then the shamans ask them about the coming of the other spirits, whether they have already started their journey. Suddenly he points again at the roof of the gate, and sees the God of the Five Roads with his four associates. Then one after another come the god of the highest Obo of the region, the dragon god, the dragons of the five lakes, of the four seas, of the nine rivers, of the eight streams, of the new rain; the goddesses of the nine heavens, the three girl goddesses, the heavenly gen-

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Dor

erals, the heavenly warriors, the god of the wind, the 796
gods honored in the Monguor villages, then the spirits 756
honored in the private families of the village, the souls of the last three generations of ancestors of the villagers.[3] Every guest is ushered to his throne, greeted, and congratulated in the same way. The shaman has a gentle talk with each of them, while the audience prostrates itself in reverential silence. Finally, drum and cymbals are beaten and the shamans dance with feverish gusto, the dance of thanksgiving for the arrival of all the guests, in order to make them happy.

ENTERTAINMENT OF THE SPIRITS

Then follows the next act—making the spirits propitious and well disposed (*nan shen*). The shamans and the apprentices kneel in rows before the pole, with incense sticks in their joined hands in the same way as the audience. It is the most important and enjoyed moment of the day. It reveals the peculiar, but typical, religious frame of mind of shamans and Monguors. In the deepest and most solemn silence, the chief of the shamans starts talking with the spirits. He gives a detailed account of all the offerings displayed on the table and before the thrones of the gods—sheep, pig. "All these offerings are brought by the people who are kneeling before you . . . notwithstanding the fact they all had a hard time this year, they enjoyed spending that money for you. If it were possible, they would have given more . . . please enjoy their offerings. . . . You are their superiors, their chiefs, your power is unlimited. . . . All these people trust in you and are confident of you. . . . You came from so far, climbing high mountains, crossing dangerous rivers . . . in order to sit down for a while with them in this poor courtyard.

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[3] A couple of facts already encountered reveal two principles [779
of the philosophy of the shamans concerning the duration of
the existence of the spirits and the human souls. Spirits are 776]
not eternal; they weaken and become exhausted and old and consequently fade away. The famous White Tiger on the old mounds became old and had to receive new invigoration; a typical fact will be recorded of the great spirit of one of the five great Obos of the country, which had become old and had to be rejuvenated. Spirits are not eternal; even the spirits of the statues become completely exhausted after three years, and every three years the shaman has to replace the exhausted forces with brand new ones.

The souls of the deceased of only the last three generations are honored and nurtured at the time of the rite of spring.
When illness is ascribed to malignant souls of the deceased, the [775
shaman, outside the courtyard, traces three small circles, and
one more expansive; food is placed in the three small ones to 765]
nurture the souls of the deceased ancestors of the last three generations only; in the big circle is placed food for the roaming alien souls. These facts reveal an articulate belief that souls of the ancestors last three generations only, and also that hungry souls are dangerous beings.

In old China the souls of the deceased kings after five generations, princes after three, nobles after one, lost their original protecting power and were relegated among those of the group to whom personal offerings were refused (H. Maspero, *Chine antique, op. cit.*, 186). They were already far on the way toward decaying and fading away.

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. . . These people are very happy and thankful for your 776
kindness. . . they are happy to be so close to you, and 756
they all hope you will be so kind as to preserve the peace of the village, protect the mountains and pastures, the crops and the herds against hail, and protect the children and the elders."

During the talk of the shaman, the people repeat his words while prostrating themselves. Some among the shamans really have the knack of saying things that go to the marrow of the bones. Such shamans are always invited, and are beloved by the people. Their talk is long or short, according to the inspiration of the moment and the circumstances, and at that moment the audience is in a really prayerful mood.

After the speech, all the shamans start their most gracious dance, honoring the kind spirits. Then for a long, long while the shamans sit down. They beat the drums softly, and the chief shaman, the whole time listening to his drum, makes the statement in stereotyped terms that "The gods just finished their council and have decided that during the three summer months, the crops will be protected against hail and the village will enjoy peace. The gods have decided that during the three winter months the people and the herds will enjoy peace and be preserved from illnesses. It has been decided by the gods and the decision is irreversible." The people prostrate themselves thankfully, repeating: "Irreversible." Then the gods decide that for the faithful, who are not remiss in the duty of burning incense every day during the four seasons, thieves will not find a way to come into their houses; that wolves, prowling to harm the herds, will no longer be able to open their mouths; that the swords of brigands, if they come, will bend and be useless; that childless women will enjoy this year the hope of giving birth to a boy.

After the promises of the gods, the souls of three generations of deceased villagers are honored. The shamans, standing erect before their throne, beat drums and prostrate several times, pouring wine before their throne, making the libation. Then the chief shaman gives them an account of all the offerings deposited before them by their descendants. He invites them to taste the offerings and to enjoy them, repeating several times that the descendants are happy to be in their presence and the attendants repeat his words. Finally a last dance is performed before the pole, prostrations are made, and the attendants leave the temple. By then the sun is setting, the gathering having lasted a whole day.

The shamans are very proficient in the art of predicting and promising the blessings really desired by the villagers. Although all the promises will not be implemented, the people leave the temple in a happy mood, hopeful and satisfied, for everybody likes the predictions concerning the fulfillment of his hopes and wishes. The children in the schools and the women remember very well the details of these talks, which

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have gone straight to their hearts. In order not to get a warped view of the talks of the shamans at these religious feasts, it must be said that the talks were not always sugary and sweet, adorned with delightful promises fitting the moods and feelings of the audience. Two unusual events happened, one in Too long in 1909, and the other in Hsin yüan-p'u in 1914 at the feast of spring. These were described to me several times by different Monguors and Chinese, because they were so well known for their unusualness and because they were fraught with terrible forebodings.

During the rites, at the moment when the people, kneeling in deep religious silence, were waiting for happy promises of the spirits, the shaman, listening to the spirits speaking in his drum, threw the attendance into confusion and terror, declaring the inauspicious disposition of the spirits, and foretelling threatening calamities in store for the villagers, such as hail, epizootics, diseases. The shaman saw in his drum the aversion in the hearts of the spirits and heard the bitter words on their tongues, because of the lack of fervor in the cult of the guardian spirit of the village; the disregard of the youth for them; the lasting feuds and discords among the families of the village, unwilling to overlook their petty differences.

The distressed audience was suddenly thrown into the throes of despair. All hope for blessings was dashed to the ground and crumbled in a heap. Everybody shuddered at the thought of hail and diseases. The audience, caught in a web of indecision, did not dare to laugh the threats to scorn. Predictions of impending calamities are never viewed in a light vein. The congregation was like a ship without a rudder, lashed by big waves of fear and apprehensions. Then the chief of the village said, "Let us prostrate ourselves and ask for forgiveness for our shortcomings and deficiencies," and he asked the shaman for a solution of the problem. In Hsin-yüan p'u the shamans agreed to attempt to propitiate the spirits, although, according to them, only a small hope remained. In desperation, trying to propitiate the angry spirits about to loose their avenging bolts, they danced their gentlest dances, listening to the drum, talking with the spirits, leaning towards the drums, flattering, cajoling, wheedling, apologizing, promising for the future, while the audience prostrated itself incessantly. Finally the chief of the shamans, with a glint of victory in his eyes, declared that the scales of mercy had been successfully weighted, but that an additional pig had to be offered. Breathing vows of deathless devotion, the audience was happy; solace had been brought to their sadness. Such scenes are recorded by the people to their dying day, with all the details.

In Too long, however, the angry spirits stuck by their decision. The shamans recommenced their dances, the people prostrated themselves, and the shamans, unsuccessful in pulling the heartstrings of the gods, declared that their power was too weak and unavailing, 796 that more shamans would have to be invited, and that a 756 big hog would have to be prepared. A few days later more shamans succeeded in the same way as in Hsin-yüan p'u.

This shamanist rite of the first day tallies wonderfully [171] with that of the Wu among the Chinese and the Hsiung-nu in 91 B.C. At the time of the state sacrifices, the Wu were ordered to call down the gods and human ancestors and to lead them to their "thrones," beating drums and dancing while a band of Chinese musicians played appropriate music. They pierced the future, knew the wishes of the gods and the ancestors, knew the desired sacrifices, and were proficient in predictions.[4]

Taoist priests in the country never perform such rites, 792 which are peculiar to the Monguor shamans, who after so many centuries have preserved them faithfully. They give an insight into what, centuries ago, was the religious practice of the Chinese and the surrounding barbarians, and what it is at present among the Monguors. The fantastic invitation and calling down of the spirits, their coming one after another along the rope, which the shaman pretends to see moving with his own eyes, with whom he talks, as if to persons in front of him, whom he greets cordially, is straight in the hallucinatory line specific to shamans. The best among the shamans go so far as to communicate their feelings by means of words and gestures to the well-disposed audience already believing in the reality of the rite and in the capacity of the shaman to see and communicate with gods and souls. They go so far as to make the 796 people feel happy to approach, face to face, the spirits and souls; to sit in their presence; to honor them, and trust entirely in them. To be sure, a religious feeling is awakened by the shamans at the meeting. All my [781] Monguor informants asserted they were happy at that time and enjoyed the rite.

This is the only time during a whole year, when the community of a village prays and honors its gods and ancestors in a group. It was said that nobody would miss attending this rite. No wonder that the Monguors esteem and love their shamans, especially since the lamas never practice such a rite for a whole community.

RITES OF THE SECOND DAY

The second day is a busy one, since four rites are 796 performed: (1) possession by the White Tiger spirit, 756 (2) the greeting of the Goddess of Joy, (3) leave-taking of the spirits, and (4) the nurturing of the spirits of the temple.

POSSESSION BY THE WHITE TIGER

Very early in the morning, after breakfast, the shamans, beating drums and cymbals, sit around the pole in front of all the spirits invited the day before, talking 796 with them and asking for their protection upon the 756 village. The guardian of the temple, acting as representative of the whole village, kneels behind them with incense sticks in his joined hands, answering and repeating the prayers. The rite lasts for about an hour.

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[4] De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1188–1190; 1201–1208, 1247.

Around ten o'clock a lunch is served to the shamans and wine is poured in profusion. All the villagers, dressed in their festival best, flock to the temple to attend the ceremony of the possession of the chief of the shamans by the White Tiger spirit.

For a long time the shamans play and have fun. While the apprentices beat drums and cymbals, they [535] start dancing; they get excited, display all kinds of acrobatics; dance on their knees holding their heels in their hands; dance on their heads; turn cartwheels; keep whirling; jostle one another. They are stimulated to compete with one another in accomplishing the queerest eccentricities. It is not unusual for a couple to [578] get into a quarrel and start fighting and for one or another to fall down in a fainting fit.

When the excitement reaches fever pitch, the chief of the shamans exchanges his cap of the god of the Five Roads for the black cap with long tail. With his arm nude, the whip fixed into the collar, drum in hand, he starts a wild dance which lasts for a long time. He stops once in a while and cracks the whip. He takes threatening and aggressive attitudes, brawls loudly and indistinctly, and grins, distorting mouth and jaw bone. With his whole body writhing and supposed to be possessed by the White Tiger spirit, he cuts his arm [785] with a razor, making it bleed. The women rush to the shaman and apply paper to the wound. These papers are efficacious talismans for the protection of children, and are sewn on their clothes by their mothers. In former times, old Monguors said, potent shamans pierced their cheeks with an arrow and bent the blade of a sword predicting the future with wonderful accuracy, but today shamans can no longer do that. These rites are in line with the activities of Wu and shamans.[8]

GREETING OF THE GODDESS OF JOY

Around two o'clock the rite of *ying hsi-niang* is performed, the meeting with, and the greeting of, the [776] Goddess of Joy. This rite is purely shamanistic. The Chinese perform a similar but more quiet rite, on New Year's day, meeting and greeting the "spirit" of joy. Monguor youngsters like to imitate the Chinese and enjoy the same merriment. However, the real Monguor rite is the following one performed by the shaman:

On the large threshing floor of the village is placed a table with offerings. The villagers sit around the edges of the floor in order that the shaman may have room for the performance and the evolutions. All the shamans wear the black cap with long tail, and keeping time with the beating of drums and cymbals perform 796 their wildest dances for a long time. Usually three or 756 four among them seem to be possessed. All of a sudden the chief of the shamans becomes excited to fever pitch, and howls "go to the goddess." Then, followed by the other shamans, he grasps a chicken and, dancing with fury, bites its neck and jerks off its head in a wild movement. Grimacing with distorted face, and glittering eyes, he throws the bleeding chicken head in the supposed direction of the goddess, uttering dreary cries and indistinct sounds. After the rite is accomplished, the people go home for dinner. It is indeed a savage means of greeting "a goddess of joy," with a bleeding head and with such wild appearance.

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[8] De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1212. [p. 109 (B)]

The split-personality of the "good" shaman who the first day was so gentle, so kind, so considerate for the spirits, shows up more and more; he has to see blood and to offer bloody sacrifices.

LEAVE-TAKING OF THE SPIRITS

After sunset all the villagers come to the temple. In some villages the women are not allowed to attend the [562] evening rites, but elders asserted that in former times the women were admitted everywhere.

A hundred small lamps are prepared, the cup made with dough and the wick with twisted cotton wool. [354] Into the cup is poured vegetable oil. The lamps are displayed in rows on the offering table in front of the pole and the statues. The shamans first perform the usual dance, keeping time to the beating of the drums. The leave taking of the guest spirits is called the "opening of the highway" (*k'ai ma-lu*). A bridge[8] is to be built over which the guests are supposed to pass. A big roll is put on each of the four corners of the table, and a larger one in the middle; a paper banner is placed on each of the five rolls. A lamp is lit near the banners and a plate put near each of them; on the middle plate is placed the head of a chicken.

The chief of the shamans asks the shamans and the apprentices for the meaning of the five rolls. The five rolls mean the five mountains; the five lamps, the five lakes; the five wicks, the five dragons; the banners, the incense which billows up into the sky. Why is the head of a chicken put on the middle plate? In order to steady the *Yin-Yang* (male and female principle of the Taoists). The chief shaman writes, around the roll in the center, the eight Chinese cyclical characters and asks for the explanation of each of them. If one of the shamans or apprentices is unable to answer he is scolded and upbraided in front of the whole gathering.

A bridge is constructed for the spirits from one end of the table to the other by disposing two rows of rolls in which are planted brand new chopsticks; on both sides [412] of the bridge are planted incense sticks in smaller rolls. The shaman asks again for explanations: Is there still another way existing above that bridge or not? An-

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[8] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 419. [p. 110(A)]

swer: the galaxy. Who walks on the milky way? Yu 796
Huang[7] preceded by the green dragon and the White 756
Tiger. Under the bridge is there still another bridge
or not? The dangerous bridge leading to Hell, over [775]
which passes the king of Hell, Erlik, preceded by the
spirit with the head of a cow and the spirit with the
head of a horse, and where spirits are waiting, who
devour passing souls. What is our bridge? The bridge
of the spirits.

The building of the bridge of the spirits and the con- 796
fused explanations of the shamans, mixed with Taoist, 756
shamanist, and Bön principles, reveals, nevertheless, 772
the philosophy claiming the existence of three worlds: 779
the upper, middle, and lower worlds, each with its own
population.[8] A hint has already been given of this
philosophy, in describing the rite of the stretched goat
skin and the molding of clay figures, etc. At any rate
the bridge provides a wonderful opportunity for the
shamans to display their philosophical abilities and their
proficiency in the art of telling of the nine and more
heavens, one more beautiful than the other; the eighteen
hells, dark and terrifying; the severe judgments after
death presided over by Erlik or the Chinese Yen wang;
the explanation of the three souls; shamans flying on
drums to heaven, are unique occasions for story-tellers,
sparkling with wit, to reap big successes.

At that time, shamans never fail to explain the ap- 776
pointment of their ancestor shaman by Chiang Tze-ya 538
as servant of the god of the Five Roads; they never
fail to narrate captivating episodes from the epic of
Gesar. All kinds of problems are dealt with, and a lot
of fun is had. The most ridiculous answers are given
to the most ridiculous questions. One shaman asks for
the explanation of why in each wheat grain there is
always a small groove? The answer is that in the beginning of the world there was no wheat. Tengri made
a wheat grain, but it seemed to be too big; with the
nail of his right thumb he parted the grain in two
parts. Still it seemed to be too big, and so he parted
it again and then a third time. The fourth time, just
when he was about to cut the grain in two parts again,
it appeared to be all right without cutting through it,
so he left the grain only half cut through, and so all
grains of wheat have a little groove in them. This
story was told to me several times by children who attended the meeting and said that the shaman told them
so.

Another story, which gives us a better insight into 796
the nature of that kind of meeting, is told when a sha- 756
man is asked at what time and why men started seducing 831
women, and women started eloping? An interesting 773
sociological and moral question! Tengri wanted to
have men and women. After kneading red earth and
water a whole day, he moulded seven men; then he

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[7] The most popular god of modern China who received letters patent from the Emperor in A.D. 1017. Wieger, *Textes historiques, op. cit.*, 1846.

[8] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 138. Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 125.

[p. 110 (B)]

took straw, and with fine cord tied it in the shape of 776
seven women. The fourteen manikins were put in the 756
sun to dry into shape; the tengris went to sleep. Erlik, 831
chief of the underworld and antagonist of the Tengri, 773
made a terrific storm rage and one of the straw ladies finally blew away. When these thirteen figures came to life, one of the men was lacking a wife. Monguors enjoy this story and ask the shamans to tell it every year. Another of the big subjects dealt with at the meetings is that of bad dreams. Because the meetings often end in telling smutty and filthy stories, women in many villages do not attend the evening meetings. The shamans at that time compete with one another for winning the highest marks in that kind of virtuosity. Often the chiefs of the villages, when they invite the shamans, enjoin them not to go beyond certain limits.

When the meeting starts to drag, the chief of the 756
shamans makes preparations for the leave-taking of the 776
spirits. The shamans perform a dance, while the audience kneels. The shaman again enjoins the people to ask for benedictions. He has a last talk with the spirits, thanks them for the visit, reminding them of their promises, and invites them ceremoniously, one after another, to return to their splendid abodes calling them by the most pompous titles. Firecrackers are set off, and shamans dance; the people prostrate themselves and the spirits go back along the rope to their abodes.

While the shaman throws three handfuls of wheat and jujubes into the air, the people try to catch them, as they fall, in their skirts; they mix them with the seeds for next year. A hard pull on the rope fixed on the pole breaks the bag containing jujubes made with dough, coins, and peas. Everybody tries to grab a couple of them, for having been touched by the coming and going of the spirits they enjoy their celebrated magical power. Sick persons eat them in order to be healed, and women so as to become pregnant. The fork with the two rolls is unbalanced; the rolls fall and are picked up; they are reduced to crumbs and are panaceas against all kind of ailments.

NURTURING OF THE GODS OF THE TEMPLE

This rite is the last one and may be the most im- [776]
portant. The shamans explain that the spirits in the 776
temples are to be nurtured once a year, in order that 756
they may be able to protect the village against hail. 782
Here the split personality of the Monguor shamans shows up in its crudest reality.

The shamans explain, and the Monguors strongly believe their explanation, that in former times a human sacrifice was urged every year by the spirits. Other shamans say that the sacrifice was needed only every seven years, in order to ward off hail, epidemics, epizootics, etc.* The present rite takes the place of the

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* This tradition, concerning the yearly human sacrifice demanded by the spirits, seems to point to the fact that in old

former human sacrifices; consequently blood and the 776
soul of a deceased person is needed for the nurturing 756
of the spirits. 782

The rite is performed at night. The shamans and the young folk leave the temple in order to capture the soul of a deceased human being. Sometimes they go far away, according to the indication of their spirits. Five fortresses are built by means of incense sticks planted in the ground in the form of a square, one at each corner according to the points of the compass, and one in the center. Circles are drawn around each of them. Then follows the beating of the drums and cymbals, dances, and cracking of the whips on the ground. The chief of the shamans howls at the top of his voice, "Is the northern fortress already built?" All the shamans answer by howling in the same way; this is repeated for each of the fortresses. Nuts and dates are thrown by the chief of the shamans on the four corners, and on the center; he throws some of them into the air, to attract the roaming souls of deceased people. A bottle is planted in an inclined position in a bushel containing wheat, and is supported by burning incense sticks. The shamans start their wildest dance, drearily howling at the tops of their voices, and cracking whips, in the middle of the pitch-dark night. The burning incense sticks no longer support the bottle, and it falls flat; the chief of the shamans rushes to the bottle, grasps it, and runs as fast as possible to the temple, followed by the other shamans and the young folk.

The temple gate is shut tightly. A new wild dance follows, until all of a sudden the chief of the shamans grasps a chicken, jerks off its head, and gathers its blood in a pot. He cries again, asking the gathering three times, "Are the souls here?" and runs inside the temple rooms and presents the bottle containing the gathered souls at the mouth of each of the statues and the painted gods on the walls, cajoling, wheedling and caressing them saying, "Eat, eat please! Do you like it? It is a wonderful meal, eat some more, there is plenty." Then taking the pot with blood he performs the same ceremony, "Drink, drink!" The spirits are nurtured.

He takes the pot containing the horoscope sticks placed in the temple, throws them on the ground and

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times the White Tiger devoured a person every year, as mentioned above. There is a widespread belief in human sacrifices demanded by spirits in India and Tibet (A. David Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 207, Paris, Plon, 1929. L. A. Waddell, *op. cit.*, 516). It is noted by Helmut Hoffmann (*op. cit.*, 175), as practiced by the Hsienpi in Manchuria and Mongolia at the beginning of the year; it was well known in China in former times (De Harlez, *op. cit.*, 79. Wieger, *Textes historiques*, Index, Sacrifices Humains, 2164). Helmut Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 161-162, also notes spirits called *Sri* eagerly attacking small children, sucking their blood, and devouring them. Garma Sanschejew (*op. cit.*, 592), notes among the shamans belief in a kind of spirit eager to attack and devour the children; parents know that when children start crying suddenly such spirits are around. No wonder that this belief, spread all over Asia, is still very strong at present among the Monguors.

[p. 111 (B)]

examines their position. "All right!" he cries. "all 796
events will be all right this year, the village will enjoy 756
peace and thrive; this year you will be preserved from 782
hail!" A piece of red cloth is tied with a red rope on the bottle, which is put under the empty container inside the temple for seven days.

After all the rites have been accomplished, the villagers go home taking with them their own thrones of the ancestors and as many paper banners and streamers as possible, in order to place them with the deities honored at home. The shamans and the elders have a meal and plenty of wine for the whole night. The next morning the shamans leave; they came riding empty-handed on a donkey, and go back driving the donkey, laden with rolls and offerings, some wheat, and a meager payment in cash.

FEAR OF HUMAN SACRIFICES

During the second, third, and fourth months, the time 782
during which these rites are performed in one village 784
after another, everywhere children are encountered 789
wearing around their necks strips of filthy, stinking 751
cloth, with which the women had wrapped their feet (for they do not wear stockings). The heads of some children are covered with a handkerchief containing dog hair; the foreheads of some children are scratched and lightly wounded. Several times a day the children are enjoined not to eat jujubes or nuts lying along the way or in the temple yards, for fear that the spirits, avid for human sacrifices, might allure them and take their souls. Everywhere it is said that, notwithstanding the rites taking the place of the former human sacrifices, once in a while some of the spirits take a child. All these practices are used in order to frighten the spirits and to preserve the children desired by this kind of evil spirit. If, during these months, a child dies, everybody is convinced that his soul has been taken by the terrible spirits.

These practices give evidence that the belief in human 782
sacrifices required by spirits is deeply ingrained in the
minds of the people. At that time, meeting children so [115]
arrayed affords a fine opportunity to collect details about the rites of spring, and the talks of the shamans, and to get an insight into the religious trend of mind of the people. These facts make it plain that the Monguor shamans, honoring Taoist spirits and performing most of the rites of the Wu of China and of the shamans living in the neighboring countries, have preserved their urge for human sacrifices. The Monguor shamans nurture the weakened, exhausted spirits in the temples with captured human souls. The burying of the Chinese beggar in the mound, in order to succeed in the struggle against the hail spirits, and the occasional capturing of a boy for the same purpose, facts attested by many trustworthy men, give evidence
of the assumption. However, constraint is imposed [682]
upon them by a more civilized environment than that

[p. 112(A)]

people leave, and the spirit of the mountain enjoys in 785
undisturbed silence his ownership over the country. 786

Concerning the offering of sheep, Monguors assert that in former times their ancestors offered a horse on top of the mountains, but that at present, for lack of horses, a sheep is offered and not a pig, because the offer of a sheep is more convenient; a sheep can be driven to the top of the mountain, a pig has to be carried; the killing of a sheep takes less time and requires less utensils, which are not available on top of the mountain.

THE SICK OBO SPIRIT HEALED

The villages situated in the valley of Sha-t'ang, be- 782
longing to the circumscription of the big spirit of the 756
celebrated Obo Lung-wang, had poor crops, spoiled by very bad hailstorms, for three years in succession. The saying went that the vitality of the spirit was declining and that it could no longer prevent these terrific calamities. The shamans were invited to restore its debilitated strength. The chiefs and elders of all the villages together with the inhabitants went in a group to the Obo, with a group of shamans, headed by drums and flags. A big cypress fire was built; the people knelt around the Obo with incense sticks in their hands. The shamans, beating drums, danced in front of the Obo; the eldest among them, in pathetic terms, invited the sick spirit to sit down in the midst of its devoted worshippers. He spoke to the spirit in the sweetest way, just as if he was in its presence and was seeing it, caressing, consoling, and comforting the old spirit. He invited it to look at the kneeling worshippers, and protested that they really loved it, and the shamans would offer a dance in order to entertain the old spirit.

After the dance was performed, in the most gracious way, the sick spirit was supposed to be happy. The shaman, like a good mother, persuaded the spirit to take some medicines in the most affable way. He said that he had prepared for it the most efficient medicine, that it had never failed to restore the strength of Obo spirits. The shaman dug a deep hole near the Obo. The precious bottles of each village were put into it first, then a box containing seventy living snakes[20] of different kinds and colors. The shaman explained to the spirit the different kinds of ailments healed by the different kinds of snakes, and then the hole was filled up. Each village offered its sheep, firecrackers were set off, prostrations, libations and Wei-sang rites were conducted, and a last dance was performed by the shamans. Then the medical performance was closed. The spirit was supposed to be bursting with vitality again, and the group then marched three times around the 782 Obo. I heard the details of this unusual rite from 756 Monguors who had attended the ceremony.

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[20] Shirokogoroff, *Psychomental complex*, 182. The Tungus use the snakes for making poisonous bullets. The big snake is styled by the shamans the most important spirit who gives advice to the shaman, p. 246. See also Waddell, *op. cit.*, 368, *Snakes and Nagas*; also Heissig, *op. cit.*, 48, Spirits who cause diseases flee from the snakes.

[p. 115 (A)]

Just as women are not allowed to enter the temples of the spirits of the Obo, and are excluded from the rites performed at the top of the Obo in the sixth moon, they were also excluded from these rites of restoration of the forces of the spirit of the Sha-t'ang valley. It is [562] for this reason that the Obo festivities, horse races, wrestling, in the sixth moon, are performed at the foot of the mountain, so that women can attend. When women encounter an Obo on their way, they always avoid passing in front of it—the "front" being usually the south or southeast.

The mentality of the Monguors regarding the spirit of the Obo explains their reverence for them. A Monguor will always dismount from his horse when he passes an Obo. He will never fail to add some white stones to the heap, to cry at the top of his voice, honoring the spirit, to prostrate himself nine times, to throw some coins, some flour, a roll of bread on the stone heap, or to smear some butter on the offering table.[21]

It is not only the common people who act in this way. I saw the T'u-kuan Living Buddha, when passing the Obo of Sung-hua-ting, send some lamas ahead to perform the rite of Wei-sang.

CULT OF THE SACRED HILL OF THE VILLAGE

The cult of the sacred hill of the village is performed 795 like the cult of the Obos. A small Obo is built on 782 top of the hill, and a pole is erected. Under the pole is buried the "precious bottle" (urn), the specific offer to the earth god; ropes with flags are attached to the pole and spears planted in the stone heap piled around the pole. Obviously, the dimensions of this Obo are smaller than those of the Obos of the five mountain spirits, and perhaps because of this they are not called Obo, but the "sacred hill of the village."[22]

On New Year's each family sends a member to the sacred hill to enact the rite of Wei-sang and libation. On the fifteenth of the first moon the chiefs of the villages, with the elders and the inhabitants, officially go to the sacred hill, offering a sheep, performing Wei-sand, burying an urn, and making a libation. On the third of the fifth moon a similar group performs the same rites, in order to strengthen the vitality of the spirit of the sacred hill, which, according to the Monguors, must be in full strength in order to help avert hailstorms. Epidemics and epizootics are supposed to be caused by the outraged spirit of the sacred hill, [753] which must be propitiated by a sheep offering and Wei-sang rite, performed by the whole village.

Devout people go on the first and fifteenth of the month to perform Wei-sang and libation. Monguors

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[21] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 63.

[22] R. Rahmann, Remarks on the sacrifice of Heaven of the Na-khi, *Monumenta Serica* 13: 406 sqq., 1948.

[p.115(B)]

to it, in the way the Monguors are used to doing at the 795
time of the offering to the guardian deity of the family.[24] 782

RITES OF AUTUMN

THANKSGIVING RITE

The autumn feast, called by the Monguors "Thanksgiving meeting,"[s] is intended as an act of thanksgiving for the harvest reaped. 796

In the ninth or the tenth month, when the harvest is reaped and threshed, the chief of the village convenes with the elders to agree upon the choice of the shamans who should be invited, and upon the manager and the helpers who should be appointed in order to prepare the feast. Usually small villages invite one shaman, [756] bigger villages two or four; the number of the shamans invited depends also on the abundance or meagerness of the harvest. The shamans are usually chosen from among those who performed the rites in spring or the rites against hail.

The appointed manager of the ceremonies goes, taking with him a bottle of wine, the ceremonial scarf, and an invitation written on red paper "to the master of magic, so-and-so, disciple of the god of the Five Roads"; he fixes with him the date for the ceremony, suiting his convenience. At that time the shamans are very busy performing the same rites in a number of villages. Because the rites of spring had been performed by shamans, shamans should be invited for the present rite and not lamas or Taoist priests.

Each family of the village contributes its part of the required wheat flour for the steaming of rolls, the needed barley for the distillation of wine, and cash for buying the sacrificial hog or sheep. Big villages sacrifice a hog, small villages a sheep. The appointed preparers of rolls and wine take the oath not to eat the rolls or to drink the wine before they have been offered to the spirits.

The evening before the feast day, the shamans and their apprentices arrive in order to prepare the pole and flag, to paste paper banners and streamers, and to print some Chinese inscriptions on red paper. The items are fixed and pasted on the walls and doors of the temple yard, the display of red and green and yellow paper banners turning the usual feeling of monotony and loneliness of the temple yard into one of joy and happiness.

The ceremony starts in the early morning at sunrise, with the erection of the pole. On top of the pole a white cloth flag is attached on which are printed Tibetan prayers or cabalistic designs. To the middle of the pole paper streamers are attached. While the pole is being put down into the hole of the big stone, designated for that purpose, the shamans beat the drums, build a fire in the yard, throw some cypress leaves into it, and sprinkle water on it. On windy days stones are heaped

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[24] See Vreeland, *op. cit.*, 96, for the more elaborate Obo cult in the Narobanchin territory; 178, among the Chahar Mongols; 256, Dagor Mongols.

[p.116(B)]

796 around the base of the pole to steady it. The villagers do not participate at the erection of the pole. After the shamans' breakfast, taken with some of the elders, the bell of the temple is rung and the drums are beaten to call the people for the ceremony.

A group of young folk had already been sent early in the morning to all the hills, situated within the boundaries of the village, where rites had been performed against hail, to remove the stakes, the raven, the hammers, manikins, and goat skin, planted by the shamans in the spring. All these items are stored in the side rooms of the temple. Although the shamans did not accompany the group removing the items, it is said that their presence is required in order to store them.

The long offering table is removed from the temple and placed in front of the pole. A big fire is built in front of the pole and the table, in the center of the temple yard; cypress boughs are thrown into the flames and water sprinkled on the fire. Shamans and helpers purify their hands and utensils in the smoke of the cypress boughs. In the early morning the hog is killed by cutting its throat. The blood is collected, the skin shaved, bowels cleansed, and blood mixed with flour and spices is stuffed into them, and they are exposed on the offering table. The victim is washed and smoked above the fire only. If a sheep is offered, water is poured into the ears, or milk is poured on its back (never done for a pig); the throat is cut and the blood collected and filled into the bowels in the same way. The sheep is skinned and put on the table upon the skin in its entirety, without the head; thirteen big rolls are deposited next to the victim (thirteen rolls are offered to spirits and shamans, and only twelve to the dead), at the time of burial, with a vase containing vegetable oil, a jar containing wine and two bushels with wheat, some peas, spelt, and linseed, the kind of crops reaped by the Monguors. All these offerings are the gifts of the community.

In the meantime, the villagers arrive at the temple: men, women and children, with their own offerings of rolls, meat, raisins, cookies, which they deposit on the table.

796 756 The shamans, wearing the flowery coat and the crown of the god of the Five Roads, start the rite by a beating of the drums. The audience kneels in a half circle around the fire, in front of the pole and the table. The chief and the elders of the village, in the first row, hold incense sticks in their joined hands. The chief of the village pours first a libation of milk and wine on the ground before the fire and throws several handfuls of pounded cypress cones and leaves on the fire and sprinkles water. When the smoke billows in the air, he kneels, and prostrating himself says, "Old Father Heaven you know that we thank you for the harvest," and the whole audience prostrates itself three times in deep silence. Then the shamans beat drums in a slow tempo and the thanksgiving ceremony is finished.

[p.117(A)]

A large part of the hog is instantly prepared for a 776
collective dinner, the remainder being divided in as 782
many parts as there are families in the village. Each family has to partake of the sacrifice and receive a piece of meat and one roll. The manager of the ceremony presides at the division, while shamans and apprentices each receive thirteen rolls and a piece of meat.

Planks are placed in rows in the temple yard and straw is spread on both sides of them. The audience sits down on the straw and starts dining and drinking. When the sun is about set and the dinner finished, the shamans beat the drums, the audience kneels, the chief of the village pours a last libation on the ground, throws some cypress leaves into the fire and sprinkles water. The pole is taken down while the audience prostrates three times. Paper banners and streamers and inscriptions, are burned in the fire. For that reason some Monguors call the rite "paper burning rite." The villagers go home and the next morning the shamans leave.

MEANING OF THE RITE

The rite is a genuine one of thanksgiving for the 776
harvest reaped, striking in its simplicity. Thanks are 782
given in the temple yard of the god who is the protector 776
of the village—not to that god, but to "Old Father Heaven" only, as is said distinctly by the chief of the village. It has been noted before that "Heaven and all the spirits" are never honored inside temples or inside rooms, but always in the open air, in courtyards, on top of the roofs, on high mountains. Here is a case where, during the whole rite, the protector god of the village is not even mentioned, although the rite is performed in its own temple yard. The performance of the rite is perfectly in line with the general worshipping of "Heaven and all the spirits" as practiced by the Monguors. 776

An amazing fact is that shamans are invited to the 782
ceremony, but at the very moment of the performance
of the rite the chief of the village himself acts as sacrificer, [622]
as the representative and chief of the community, in the same way as we already noted that the chief of the family gives thanks on the roof of his house to "Heaven and all the spirits," offering the reeking rolls, steamed with the flour of the very first reaped wheat.
The role played by the shamans is, in fact, secondary, [756]
and seems to have no immediate connection with the rite, but rather with the rites of preventing hailstorms, which had been successful. The invitation to the shamans to participate at the rite appears, except for the fact of the planting and removal of the pole, to be an act of kindness and courtesy of the villagers toward the shamans for their happy achievement. The people give thanks themselves for the harvest reaped to "Old Father Heaven" alone, the "Old Father Heaven" who provided their subsistence.

But is this formula not borrowed from the Chinese, who use it under the same circumstances in all their

guardian deity do not like the cult of the twelve Tengris, 771
although these are considered the most potent protectors 776
among the spirits. The reason alleged is that these 592
spirits are very touchy and do not allow any lukewarmness in their cult and frequently during the year they urge the offering of a sheep. Therefore, the families which honor them are all families which continue a cult initiated generations ago.

However, families whose children are weakly like to dedicate them for thirteen years to the Twelve Tengris, and after thirteen years perform the rite of liberation from the dedication, and nurture the rooster of longevity. (See Part I: 102–103.)

There still exists an unusual custom concerning the cult of the Twelve Tengris for which I never found an explanation. It is customary that the images of guardian deities should be hung on the northern wall in the living room. The image of the Twelve Tengris, however, is never hung, but is kept rolled up during the whole year and put on the offering table along the wall. Only on the first of the first moon, at New Year's, is it hung for three days, and all the members of the families who, before the division of the extended family group, honored these Twelve Tengris and at present honor other deities as their protectors, are bound to come during these three days to worship the Twelve Tengris of their ancestors.

Another emotional but important reason for preferring the cult of a Taoist deity is that the families enjoy more the rite celebrated by the shaman at home for a Taoist family deity, than the rite performed for a Lamaist family deity. The lamas do not in fact honor the ancestors. They recite texts for one or seven days, make a *torma,* and the monotonous and tedious rite is finished. Because an emotional element governs the choice of the family deity, an outline of the shamanist rite will best explain what is involved.

CULT OF THE FAMILY GUARDIAN DEITY

The biennial or triennial rite is performed in the 795
eleventh month. On the first day of the celebration, 756●
the same preparations are made by the shamans and 782
their apprentices as at the feast of the spring in the 592
temple of the village, but on a more reduced scale, in- 776
cluding pasting of banners and streamers, planting of the pole, binding of the rope, baking and steaming of rolls, offering of sheep, thrones for the ancestors, the hearth god, spirits of the horses, the gate, and for the protector spirits of each of the families of the brothers.

At midnight "Heaven and all the spirits" are worshipped in the courtyard by the whole family. Firecrackers are set off. On the morning of the second day the spirits are invoked and come down along the rope. Among them are the gods of the hearth, the granaries, the stables, the doors, the grindstone, the fertilizers, the well, the horses, the cows, and the last three generations of ancestors. There are the usual prostrations, in-

cense, and libation for the throne of the ancestors. The 795
spirits are greeted and the offerings enumerated. The 756
shaman holds a long dialogue with the ancestors, asking 782
whether they are happy and will protect the descendants, 592
and makes promises. The whole group enjoys sitting 776
before the gods and the ancestors. The rite of the greeting of the Goddess of Joy and all the performances connected with it are omitted, but at evening follow the lighting of the lamps, the making of the bridge, and the departure of the spirits.

The spirits remain only one day. At night no soul is taken outside the courtyard to nurture the spirits, but during a last wild dance the chief of the shamans jerks off the head of a chicken and the guardian deity of the family is nurtured with its reeking blood. The head of the chicken is put under a box for seven days, the pole is taken down, and jujubes are gathered. After the shamans leave the courtyard, the fire in the hearth is not allowed to die out for seven days, and for seven days no guests or friends are admitted. No food is given to anybody, not even to beggars, no items are loaned out, no animals are sold, and the animals sold before that time are not allowed to be led away. However, things from outside may be accepted and brought into the courtyard.

The real nature of the feast celebrated by the shaman in honor of the family deity consists, it is clear, in honoring the guardian deity of the family and all the spirits presiding over the various departments of the household, together with the ancestors. It seems to be a heterogeneous party in which spirits and ancestors and the members of the present generation participate. The climax of the feast, however, is the entertainment of the ancestors, who are believed to be present in the courtyard, happy to look upon their descendants and disposed to extend their protection over them. The shaman is believed to see the ancestors, hear them speaking, know their intimate feelings, their desires for offerings and their good dispositions, and his dialogue with them is so animated as to give the participants hallucinations and make them happy.

New Catholic converts, talking about this feast, al- 795
ways recognized that before their conversion they en- 776
joyed the entertainment with the ancestors very much, but they never alluded to the presence of the spirits at the feast. Children of new converts often had interesting discussions at school with children more proficient in the doctrine concerning the shaman who had seen their ancestors and heard them speaking, but they never spoke about the other spirits present at such times.

The feast of the family guardian deity seems in fact 592
to have become a feast honoring the ancestors at home. 776
This delight in the presence of the ancestors is not confined to the Monguors. It is interesting to note the similarity of the rite of the invocation of the spirits of departed heroes, which still delights the Ordos Mongols.

[p. 127(A)]

evil spirits hidden in the village have to be expelled. 783
Usually the shaman is invited to drive them out. Sometimes a lama of the Red Sect is invited.

The shaman molds a small manikin with red earth 756
and straw. It is carried from house to house by four 783
young boys. Five boys, six years of age, run in front, each having half of his face blackened with soot and half whitened with flour. Carrying a bow, hammer, spear, and knife, they enter every courtyard, shouting at the top of their voices, leaping and gesticulating. Each member of the family rubs his face with a piece of a roll and red dyed cotton, and then puts these two items in a basket before the manikin. The whole group, with the shaman, then goes to the place reputed to be the abode of evil spirits. They light a big fire and burn the manikin and all the items. The shaman performs the dance which makes the evil spirits harmless, curses them and threatens to torture them if they dare to come again. This rite is also performed every time epidemics, such as measles, harm the village.

This rite to chase the evil spirits of the year, performed at the end of the year by the shaman, accompanied by boys six years of age whose faces are half blackened with soot and half whitened with flour, recalls the rite performed by the Wu shaman in old China. It is recorded as early as the Han dynasty (202 B.C.). The *fang hsiang* Wu led boys under the age of puberty, who were the principal performers of the rite. They beat drums, cursed and drove out the evil spirits. The boys did not wear a cap and gown of the same color, but a red cap and black gown.[10] It is strange how this old rite is still performed on the borders of Tibet after so many centuries, for the same purpose and at the same season, by the Monguor shaman, accompanied by immature boys, whose faces are bicolored as was the dress of the boys in ancient times.

In all the lamaseries in the country on the twenty- 783
ninth of the last moon, the lamas drive out the evil 792
spirits hidden in the monastery. Several *torma* are prepared, a big one painted with a coat of red paint. Texts, liturgical incantations and curses are recited by the lamas in the temple. The lamas, in a group, bring the ominous *torma* out of the monastery to a lonely, deep valley where a big fire is kindled. The *tormas* are burned with the same recitation of liturgical curses, and the lamas return at full speed without looking backward. At the same time, in most of the monasteries, there is pasted up an enormous head of a bull, made of paper, on which are written the names of the Chinese generals, Nien Keng-yao and Yueh Chung-ch'i, who in 1723 burned their lamaseries. They hope that the bull spirit may still molest their foes in their graves. In Kumbum the rite is performed after the festivities of the fifteenth of the first moon.

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[10] M. Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne*, 300-301.

SHAMANS AND BEWITCHMENT

756 755 The shaman is the recognized protector against all kinds of evil influences and bewitching. Monguors are scared to be in the neighborhood of very old trees and Obos. A very old tree, it is said, is about to become a spirit and even a man, because the essence of the tree has grown out of its perfection. Thus, the very old tree of the village of Lei-chia-p'u in the Sa-t'ang Valley, it is said, takes a walk at night and harms the people it encounters. It is also said that it is very dangerous for pregnant women to walk in the village at night. The same belief is prevalent about old statues and about Obos on small passes. The shaman is invited by the neighbors of these dangerous objects to preserve them against their baneful influences and to neutralize their ill-omened forces. Lamas are invited by the people living near such Obos to read texts and do Wei-sang, hoping they will not harm them.

[691 578] 754 Bewitchment is the last resource for avenging injustices and outrages, which cannot be avenged by legal and overt means, and for doing harm to an enemy by a hidden means. Such acts are considered by the Monguors to be a direct resort to black magic, and in order to neutralize or to perform a bewitchment, they usually invite a black shaman, but it is not exceptional to encounter a white shaman doing the job. Bewitchment is, most of the time, performed in case of lawsuits for properties that have been unjustly decided, in cases of eloped women who cannot be brought back home, for presumption of theft, in cases of jealousy and hatred between two wealthy families.

In 1918 a Monguor living in the Lu men cheng Valley was sued at the Chinese court by a rich Chinese, and jailed for a few months. When he was liberated, he invited a black shaman who prepared some small wooden planks, on which he painted cabalistic designs with the blood of a white dog. The Monguor buried them in the cemetery of the rich Chinese, according to the prescriptions of the shaman. During one year, three persons died in the family of the Chinese. The Chinese then invited a celebrated black shaman to neutralize the evil influences which were harming him and his family. It happened that the celebrated black shaman was the knave who had prepared the planks for the Monguor! He told the rich Chinese to be suspicious, for a foe of his might have buried bewitched planks in his cemetery. He received his salary and went home. The planks were found. The Chinese sued the Monguor at the court of the T'u-ssu, because mandarins do not care for such troubles. The Monguor was compelled to invite twelve shamans in order to undo the spell.

Another fact, well known over the country in 1914 because a whole village and a living Buddha were involved, casts light on this psychology of the Monguors. Tjaar tseen, the limping chief of the village of Ch'üe-lung-ku, was sued at the Chinese court by Chao, the

SOULS

The concept of the soul is one of the most confused 171 all over Asia. Chinese claim to have two souls: the 774 *p'o* and the *hun*. The p'o appears at the moment of conception, the hun at the time of birth. At death, they are separated; the p'o dwelling with the corpse, the hun going to Heaven, to the domain of Shang ti. Hungry p'o become malignant kuei. However, according to old theories, they live only for three years after death. In later times it was imagined that there was a place for the p'o similar to that of the hun. When the mourning period is finished, the deceased becomes an ancestor.[1]

> Pure shamanism—i.e., shamanism before its contact [756] with Lamaism,—had no conception of another world or a realm of death; but another realm to which only the shaman had admission, which became adorned with many attributes of the Lamaistic Hades, as appears later in the more recent shamanistic incantations. In pure shamanism, the ghost and spirits of the dead remained in this world at their burial sites. These sites developed into haunted places, and through fear were tabu to all but the shamans who have power over these ghosts and spirits.[2]

Johannes de Plano Carpini (1246–1247) claimed that the Mongols had no notion about heaven or hell, but asserted that they entered another world after death, where they could tend animals,[3] and that their deceased, under the form of dolls, were put on a wagon guarded by shamans and honored on certain days. Later on, good men became good spirits, and so the entire branch of Chingis Khan became good spirits. Owing to Tibetan Buddhist influences, souls were incarnated in other men.[4] A judgment after death was supposed to take place, and a heaven and a hell and even a kind of purgatory to exist.[5] Schmidt concludes his synthesis of the religion of the oldest Turks by saying, "Because the soul is thought to have the shape of a bird, and because death is called 'flying away,' it seems to point to a flight to Heaven," so that a heaven might haxe existed.[6] The souls of princes were probably thought to enter Heaven where they lived in the way they lived on earth.[7]

The Buriats speak in a very confused manner about three souls.[8] The Yakuts believe the shaman has three souls, "the air soul," "the earth soul," and "the mother soul." During his childhood the threefold soul is taken away by the spirits, and his mother soul takes the shape of a "fantastic female."[9] These facts suffice to give an idea about the confusion reigning in Central Asia about the soul, and they prepare us to expect the same confusion concerning this subject among the Monguors, who assume that they have three souls. 774 171

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[1] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 186.

[2] Heissig, *op. cit.*, 510.

[3] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 194, 195.

[4] Schmidt, *op. cit.* **10**: 105.

[5] *Ibid.*, 108–110.

[6] *Ibid.* **9**: 65.

[7] *Ibid.*, 35.

[8] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, *Anthropos* **23**: 578, 1928.

[9] Dioszegi, Le combat sous forme d'animal des chamans, *Acta Orientalia*, 316, 1952.

[p. 140(A)]

THE FIRST SOUL

The Monguors used to talk about the soul of the bones,[10] which seems to adhere to the bones in general, not to a definite bone. When the bones are broken or split, the soul seems not to be affected. Consequently, when Monguors kill a sheep, they do not take care to avoid the breaking of the bones. The soul seems never to leave the bones, even during life or after death; it is said to be buried with the bones in the grave, and to remain there adhering to them, and to vanish when the bones vanish. Never is it said that this soul harms people, or is harmed in anyway. However, when the shaman calls back the souls of a sick man supposed to be harmed by malignant spirits, or by souls of the deceased, the bone soul is called back with the two others. 774 775 [756]

This peculiar feeling existing over all Asia concerning the bones is noteworthy. The bones play a large role in the beliefs of the Mongol and Turkish people, to which stock the Monguors belong. The Monguors, as well as the Mongols and Turks, when asking for the name of a man's clan, ask for the name of his "bone," and their saying goes that the bones come from the father and the flesh from the mother. This basic principle is so deeply ingrained in their consciousness that when you ask a man or a woman what their bones are, they will always answer by giving the name of the clan of their father and not that of their mother. Everybody is recognized as belonging to the clan of his father. If you ask for the name of the bone of their mother, they will answer by giving the name of their mother's father's clan and not of their mother's mother's clan, for the bones come from the father. This behavior fits perfectly in the frame of a patriarchal society. 761 774 [171]

However, it is not known at what time specific facts caused the Monguors to go so far as to call their maternal uncle the "master of the bones" of the children of his sister, to acquiesce to his illogical usurpation of the most basic rights belonging to the family chief in a patriarchal society, to allow the maternal uncle to decide, in definite circumstances, about the life and death of these children, and to be their recognized avenger in case of suicide, caused by maltreatment, and to become the only man who can permit the burial of these children.[11] In all nomadic societies in Asia this intrusion is observed on a larger or smaller scale. Even in the Chinese society the maternal uncle plays an important role, presiding over the festivities at marriages and giving permission to bury the children of his sister. The Chinese saying is well known that, when the maternal uncle brings suit at court against the son of his sister, the father of the defendant cannot withstand it, and also the saying that as long as the mother's family (maternal uncle) does not permit burial, the de- 604 774 764

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[10] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 2: 205.

[11] Schram, Part I: 91.

cordingly, concentrated on the happiness and help 795
needed during their actual lifetime here on earth. 776

However, they had populated the world with a host 775
of good and evil spirits on which they thought they 771
depended. They curried the favor of the good spirits and tried to secure their good disposition so that they would stay the hands of the evil spirits, and bless them during their lifetime here on earth. Among those spirits was the Spirit of Heaven, whose nature we have no means of distinguishing from that of the other spirits to whom more sacrifices were offered. (See above, p. 153.)

The shaman, whom they knew to have access to the 756 ●
world of spirits, was only engaged in providing them 776
with the protection and benefits needed during their 771
life. At present the activities of the shamans are still limited to that same sphere of action. The diffusion of Buddhism opened new vistas in the world of religious thought of the Turkic-Mongol peoples. A Buddha of benevolence appeared, enthroned in a paradise to which all people could have access and where all could enjoy happiness during the time preceding a new, happy rebirth. The concept of this intervening time became so endlessly long that the idea of rebirth was practically forgotten and put aside. However, a more concrete notion of the soul came to be developed.

In addition to the paradises, Buddhism revealed the 775
existence of the eighteen hells and the presence of the 771
terrible judge of the dead who decided about the future, according to acts morally good or bad. The shamans also told about Erlik Khan. However, the Turkic-Mongol tribes living on earth still hoped for blessings here, and were taught that the benevolent Buddha could secure them. Hence, next to the cult of the old spirits was the cult of Buddha, the throng of devotees invoking blessings and protection through the Om Mani. In this way the fervent shamanists became also fervent Lamaists.

We have no way of making sure what the impact of Nestorianism may have been upon the Turkic-Mongol tribes in later times, in promoting the development of a more concretely defined notion of the "spirit of Heaven," and its preeminence over the other spirits or even how long such an impact may have lasted. We do know, however, that Turkic-Mongol tribes honored Heaven and offered sacrifices to it, as well as to Buddha and all the spirits, and that consequently they were not monotheists.[33]

XV. RELIGION AND THE COHESION OF THE CLAN

The Monguor clans, from the time of their submis- 614
sion to the Chinese empire (1368), were friendly dis- 648
posed toward the empire. Their chiefs received military titles and offices, and enjoyed the right to admin-

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[33] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 217, *et seq.* [p. 157 (A)]

1274 and also of Nestorians, probably traders as were 175^{x} 439
the Moslems, originating from Kao Ch'ang. 563

BUDDHISM IN HUANGCHUNG

The history of Chiossulo has an important bearing 175^{x}
upon the history of Buddhism in Huangchung and upon 795
the specific character of Shamanism in the country.

In Part II (8–14) it is noted that, according to the *Annals* of Hsining, the first Buddhist temple in Hsining, the Ta Fo Ssu, had been built during the Yuan period (1280–1368). Since I was conversant with the history of Chiossulo, I suggested on page 12 that most probably during the occupation of Kansu by the Tsan p'u of Lhasa from 763 until 842, lamas would have followed the conquerors and spread Buddhism in Kansu. However, the first historical data are recorded in the *Blue Annals* translated by Roerich, where is noted the foundation of the monastery of Dantig in 940, on the northern borders of the Yellow River in Huangchung, and at the same time that in that country great hermitages already existed. These annals also note the existence in the city of Hsining of a Buddhist temple where Buddhist monks had been buried. These are the first historical data which prove that Buddhism was practiced in Huangchung before 940. Since the description of the city of Hsining during the reign of Chiossulo, who died in 1065, is available, we know that the city of Hsining was a Lhasa in miniature, where lamas stood at the helm, and that therefore, long before the Yuan period, Buddhism flourished on a very large scale.

SHAMANISM AND MANICHEISM

The Uighurs were converted to Manicheism in 762–763 and professed Buddhism and Nestorianism at the same time. At the time of their khanate in Kanchow in 872 their official religion was still Manicheism. Manicheism is based upon the doctrine of the existence of two distinct principles of good and evil, and of two distinct beings impersonating good and evil, both eternal, independent, and mutually antipathetic.

The shamanism of the Monguors (Monguors II: 175^{x}
94–97) has been explained on the one hand by the 795
overwhelming fear of evil spirits existing among the 756
shamanists, and on the other hand by the recognition of their dependence on good spirits in all the circumstances of life. The struggle between both groups of spirits has been recorded during the typical rite against hail. Then the people carry all their good spirits into the fields in the direction of the threatening clouds, and cry to them to fight the evil hail spirits, which they curse awfully. If it happens nonetheless that the crops are destroyed, the people sigh with despair saying: "the good spirits could not match the evil ones."

Professor Wolfram Eberhard,[34] reviewing the chapter on shamanism, suggested judiciously that there

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[34] Wolfram Eberhard, *Jour. Amer. Oriental Soc.* 4: 284, 1957.

M 175x 795 766 might be reason to think seriously of the thesis of the influence of Iranian dualism upon the shamanism of the Monguors and upon that encountered in west China in a contact zone of Tibetan and Chinese populations. He notes that attention has already long ago been drawn to the Iranian elements in Central Asian shamanism. Since it is known that several ten thousands of Manichean Uighurs pledged allegiance to Chiossulo in 1036 and that they were settled in Huangchung and in East Kansu up to the borders of Szechwan, it is easy to agree with the suggestion. Without doubt Iranian elements had had time enough to influence the shamanism of Kansu, for my notes were recorded in 1910–1920, after these Manicheans had lived in the country for six centuries. Iranian influence upon the shamanism of Central Asia may be explained in the same way. The Uighur kingdom was liquidated in 840 by the Kirghiz, after the Uighurs had been converted to Manicheism eighty years earlier. Then they roamed in Turkistan and on the China borders carrying with them their Manicheism and came in contact with the shamanism of Central Asia.

SETTLEMENT OF THE UIGHURS

M 175x 167 563 U 167 175 The arrival of thousands of Tibetans and several ten thousands of Uighurs all fleeing at the same time into Huangchung, driving before them their herds, carrying their belongings, etc., should have created a tremendous and delicate problem for Chiossulo to cope with. All these turbulent people had to be settled without hurting the feelings of the Tibetan tribes subject to him and already living in the country. This tremendous number of tribes must have upset the whole country, as many groups must have tried to occupy the territories which seemed fitting to them and have caused endless troubles.

M U [648] M 175x 167 563 U 175 167 The *Annals* of Hsining (4: 19*a*) dealing with the geography of the country note incidently that five thousand T'u-fan horsemen arrived at the well of Fu-t'i, and drove Uighurs who had settled there back to their own country. This well is situated near the well-known old fortress of Shih-pu-ch'eng (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 3*a–b*). This reveals how delicate a problem Chiossulo had to contend with, and indicates the attitude of the Tibetans toward the Uighurs intruding into their country.

It is impossible to find out which among the numerous tribe names recorded in the *Annals* for the first time in Ming times (1368) are Uighur, Tibetan, or Shat'o names, because all the tribes are generally recorded as being Tibetans.

What tribes were settled in Huangchung in 1008 when the twelve-year-old Chiossulo arrived in the country?

In Mao Ch'uan, the actual subprefecture of Nienpei, is recorded the presence of the important Tibetan